

BROADWAY TRANSLATIONS

*Age cannot wither her nor custom stale
Her infinite variety*



SAPPHO

(From the bust in the Pitti Palace Florence)

Broadway Translations

SAPPHO
THE POEMS AND FRAGMENTS

Greek Text with an English Translation by
C. R. HAINES M.A. (Cantab.), B.D., F.S.A.
and Introduction Notes Glossary etc.

With 20 Plates (comprising 43 Illustrations)

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TO SAPPHO

*Dimly we see thee in those far-off days
Thy bosom glowing with Aeolian fire
And Aphrodite's girdle of Desire
Warming thy soul to love's entrancing lays
Thy brows are circled still with living bays
Which crown thy brave boast that the years to be
O glorious Sappho should remember thee
My stammering words are fain to tell thy praise,
And echo in a strange barbarian tongue
(How rude to strains that Lesbos made divine !)
The magic music that thy lips have sung
As deathless as old Homer's mighty line
Which through all ages in our ears has rung
Thou mortal Muse immortal as the Nine*

C R. H

*Δώρα χερὸς φίλας φανλῆς περ θαῦμα γυναικῶν
Σαπφῶι τιτὰ δέχου αἶψα ῥόδα βουλῶν μελῶν*

SIGLA

Marks Fragments not specifically attributed to Sappho in the authors where they occur

† Obelizes readings which are incurably corrupt.

— Under a Greek word in the Vocabulary means that it is conjecturally supplied

Under a letter in the same signifies that it is doubtfully read.

In the English versions words that have no counterpart in the Greek are italicized.

CONTENTS

* Means a poem not certainly by Sappho

† Means a poem which is too mutilated to give any connected sense

- | | | | |
|----|--|------|--|
| 1 | Lines to her poems inscribed on a hydria at Athens 77 | 21 | Gongyla is mentioned (with Hermes?) in a mutilated poem 99 |
| 2 | Sappho to her Lyre 77 | 22a. | Eiranna (?) the greatest of bores 100 |
| 3 | Prayer to Aphrodite for help in love 78 | 22b | Possibly part of the same poem, 100 |
| 4 | To a beloved girl 81 | 23. | To a girl-genius 101 |
| 5 | To Gongyla 83 | 24. | To a rich uneducated woman 102 |
| 6 | To Atthis (?) about a friend at Sardis 84 | 25 | On her own immortality (cf 59) 102 |
| 7 | Parting reminiscences of Atthis or another 86 | 26. | To a man admired for his beauty 103 |
| 8 | Remembrance of Anactoria 88 | 27 | To the poet Alcaeus—an answer 104 |
| 9 | Prayer to the Nereids for her brother (Charaxus) 90 | 28. | Let still the woman take an elder to herself 104 |
| 10 | To Cypria, of Doricha (and Charaxus?) 92 | 29. | *To a girl proud of her ring 105 |
| 11 | Someone unnamed reproached for desertion of her (?) 93 | 30. | *To a girl to steel her heart, 105 |
| 12 | To Dika (= Mnasilika?) 95 | 31 | Old age as the enemy of love (?) 105 |
| 13 | A sarcastic salutation to Gorgo or Andromeda, 96 | 32 | Friends in youth (?) 106 |
| 14 | Satirical reference to Andromeda 96 | 33 | Sappho loyal to her friends 107 |
| 15 | Satirical reference to Andromeda's new friend 96 | 34 | Sappho sings to her friends 107 |
| 16 | Mnasidika compared with Gyrinno 97 | 35 | To a forgetful friend 107 |
| 17 | Sarcastic reference to Gorgo 97 | 36 | Who has supplanted her in a friend's love? 107 |
| 18 | Atthis, her childhood's favourite 98 | 37 | Ingratitude of friends 108 |
| 19 | Reproach of Atthis on deserting her for Andromeda, 98 | 38 | Mika mentioned and the daughters of Penthius 109 |
| 20 | Of Hero her whilom pupil 98
But see Lobel on this | 39 | An Andromeda mentioned and the Tyndarids 110 |
| | | 40 | A friend likened to Helen, 110 |
| | | 41 | Old age and ἀβροσύνη, 112 |

- 42 Pain and cares, 114
 43 Sappho in two minds, 114
 44 Sappho bears no malice, 115
 45 Lovers parted long and afar,
 115
 46 Love shakes Sappho again, 116
 47 Love like a tempest shakes her
 soul, 116
 48 "Tu, mea cura," 116
 49 †"My true love's arms around
 me again" (?), 117
 50 Be night a double night! 117
 51 Golden-sandalled dawn (out of
 place, should go after 73), 117
 52 As a child to its mother, 118
 53 O mother, I cannot spin to-night,
 118
 54 Of Kleïs, her daughter, 118
 55 Sappho of herself (?), 119
 56 Gifts of the Muses to Sappho,
 120
 57 Sappho's fair lot from the Muses,
 120
 58 Sappho cannot touch the sky,
 121
 59 Posterity will remember her (cp
 25), 121
 59a Oblivion, p 122
 60 Oblivion, odious to the Muses,
 122
 61 Dirges suit not a Muse-lover's
 home, 123
 62 Sappho's "good counsel" to-
 wards the Gods (?), 123
 63 Beauty and goodness, 123
 64 Death not a boon, 124
 65 Keep silence in anger, 124
 66 Wealth without worth not to be
 desired, 125
 67 Gold imperishable by rust, 126
 68 Stir not the shingle, 126
 69 "No money for me, if it meaneth
 a bee!" 126
 70 "A bay where all men ride," 127
 71 A lonely night vigil, 127
 72 A cool and drowsy orchard, 128
 73 Earth with many a garland set,
 129
 74 Vetches on a river's bank, 129
 75 Stars pale before the moon, 129
 76 Maidens in the moonlight round
 an altar (cf 82), 130
 77 A girl gathering flowers, 130
 78 Young girls weaving garlands,
 130
 79 Doves drooping their wings in
 death, 131
 80 *The cicala's song at noon, 131
 81 The sheen of the hyacinth, 132
 82 Cretan girls dancing round an
 altar (cf 76), 132
 83 The heaven-haunting swallow,
 133
 84 The nightingale, the angel of the
 spring, 133
 85 A storm at sea (?), 133
 86 Daphne (?), 134
 87 To a Dream, 135
 88 Prayer to Aphrodite, 136
 89a Aphrodite invoked, 137,
 89b To pour out her nectar (i.e. love
 poetry), 137
 90 The death of Adonis, a dialogue
 between Aphrodite and
 Maidens, 138
 91 The Refrain "Ah, for Adonis!"
 138
 92 "Ah, for Adonis!" 138
 93 "Sing the wedding song!" 138
 94 Sappho sees Aphrodite in a
 dream, 139
 95 Offering of a white kid, 139
 96 Libation of wine, 139
 97 Kerchiefs and Phocæan
 "fairings" for Aphrodite, 140
 98 Sappho and her prayers to
 Aphrodite, 140
 99 [Sappho] and Eros, Aphrodite's
 minister, 140
 100 Eros in purple cloak come from
 heaven, 141
 101 The genealogy of Eros, 141

- 102 Eros the causer of heartache the
weaver of fancies 142
- 103 [Aphrodite] calls (Eros) her child
142
- 104 Minister of the Cyprus born
142
- 105 Peitho the daughter of
Aphrodite 142
- 106 Hecate (or Peitho) Aphrodite's
handmaid 143
- 107 A dream dialogue with Hera
143
- 108 Apollo and the Muses 144
- 109 Kalliope, 145
- 110 Sappho addressed Andromeda
and Phaethon mentioned 145
- 111 Leto and Niobe once fast friends
146
- 112 Leda and the egg 146
- 113 Prometheus and the theft of fire
147
- 114 Selené and Endymion 147
- 115 Theseus and the tribute to Minos
147
- 116 Linus called by Sappho Otolinus
147
- 117 Sappho's hymns to Artemis (?)
imitated by Damophyla 148
- 118 Muses invoked 153
- 119 Graces invoked 153
- 120 Graces and Muses invoked 154
- 121 Hail Bride hail Bridegroom 154
- 122 Hail Bride hail Bridegroom 154
- 123 No bride like thine O Bride-
groom 154
- 124 The bridegroom has won his
heart's desire 155
- 125 To what shall the bridegroom be
likened? 155
- 126 The bride's charms 156
- 127 Invocation of the bride 156
- 128 Sweet sleep for the bridegroom,
157
- 129 Invocation of Hesperus, 157
- 130 Hesperus, fairest of stars 157
- 131 Lost virginity 158
- 132 Single blessedness, 158
- 133 The last apple of autumn 158
- 134 The hyacinth trodden down by
the wayside, 159
- 135 Dialogue between the Bride and
her Virginity 160
- 136 Enter the Bridegroom! 160
- 137 The bridegroom pre-eminent
among all 160
- 138 A jest at the doorkeeper's feet
161
- 139 *The doorkeeper's pride of
ancestry 161
- 140a. Hermes wine-pourer to the Gods
162
- 140b Pledging the bridegroom, 162
- 141 The home-coming of Hector and
Andromaché 163
- 142 A serenade to the married pair
166
- 143 A wedding song at dawn, 167
- 144 Soft wraps for the bride 167
- 145 A soft cushion 167
- 146 A cushion put in place 168
- 147 A Lydian sandal 168
- 148 An all night slumber 168
- 149 Sleep lies on tired eyes 168
- 149a. Ares and Hephaestus 169
- 150 A father's wedding gift, 169
- 151 I love and I long 169
- 152 [Jason's] mantle of many colours,
169
- 153 While ye will 170
- 154 With what eyes ? 170
- 155 [Love] scorches the heart 170
- 156 Prosperity (?) and Health, 171
- 156a. Old age and Youth, 171
- 157 Gello, lover of children, 171
- 158 A dripping napkin 171
- 159 More golden than gold and
similar hyperboles 172
- 160 Epithets for girls 173
- 161 The whole fabric of Sappho's
poetry 174
- 162 Sappho's choice of beautiful
words and subjects 174

The following are very possibly not by Sappho —

- 163 *Epigram on a statue dedicated by Aristo, 175
- 164 *Epigram on Timas, who died before she was wedded, 176
- 165 *Epigram on Pelagon, a fisherman, 176
- 166 *"Not to me are ye " 177
- 167 *"I will go, as if released from a peg," 177
- 168 *"To us some God," 177
- 169 *The Gods laughed, 177
- 170 *Down from the high mountains, 178
- 171 *The Amazons, 178
- 172 *A wound, 178
- 173 *Hither up hill, 178

Hereafter follow poems relating to Sappho or attributed to her —

- 1 Riddle attributed to Sappho by Antiphanes, 179
- 2 Answer by Sappho of same, 180
- 3 Skolion of Admetus, 180

- 4 Poem by Anacreon, 181
- 5 Sappho's answer to this, 182
- 6 Alcaeus, Anacreon, and Sappho, by Hermesianax, 182
- 7 Message of Nossis to Sappho 183
- 8 Epigram of Dioscorides addressed to Sappho, 183
- 9 Inscription on Sappho's tomb by Tullius Laurea, 184
- 10 On the Greek poetesses by Antipater of Thessalonica, 185
- 11 Anonymous On the Nine Lyristes, 186
- 12 Anonymous On the Nine Lyristes, 187
- 13 Anonymous To Sappho, from the Muses, 187
- 14 Ovid's Epistle of Sappho to Phaon, 191

The other Epigrams on Sappho will be found on the following pages pp 1, 18, 20, 22, 45, 46, 56, 58 (also on p 183), 64, and for Doricha, see p 13 ,

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE

- I A portrait bust in the Pitti Palace Florence taken for Sappho A strong and passionate character is represented. Executed apparently about 330 B.C. it may perhaps be the work of some sculptor of the school of Skopas or Lysippos *Frontispiece*
- II A view of Mitylene showing the Southern Harbour
By permission of Mr John Murray *facing p 18*
- III This gives one side of the damaged hydria of the fifth century B.C. now at Athens (No. 1260) from a photograph kindly sent me by Mr Woodward of the British School at Athens. For a further description of the scene represented see on Plate XII.
facing p 32
- IV A red figured vase of the fifth century B.C. from the Middleton Collection at Paris Sappho seated with a scroll rolled up in her left hand, is being presented with a wreath by a winged Eros over whose out stretched arm is the enigmatical word ΤΑΛΑΞ
facing p 48
- V Five small autonomous coins of Lesbos made of electrum, an alloy of silver and gold and dating between 440 and 350 B.C.
No. 1 Obverse with head of Aphrodite-Sappho wearing necklace and ear-rings. The hair is confined in a sakkos, some escaping in a tuft behind.
No. 2 Reverse of same with a tortoise-shell lyre of four strings.
No. 3 Obverse with head similar to that upon No. 1
No. 4. Reverse of this with a square kithara of seven strings.
No. 5 Obverse similar to the other two
All these are in the British Museum and I have to thank Mr G. F. Hill for sending me the casts required. *facing p 56*

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE

VI Six bronze coins of Mitylene, about 350-250 B C

No 1 is in the British Museum

No 2 is in the Berlin Museum, and my thanks are due to Professor Regling for a cast

Nos 3 and 4 are in the British Museum, the reverse having upon it a four-stringed lyre with the inscription MYTI

No 5 is at Berlin

No 6 is from a coin figured by Imhoof-Blumer In this the hair is treated in a somewhat unusual fashion

facing p 58

VII These are Imperial bronze coins of the Antonine period (A D 140-190)

No 1 is the reverse of a probably unique coin of Antoninus Pius The name ΣΑΠΦΩ is just discernible opposite the head The fashion of the coiffure is not clear, but a tuft of hair is visible escaping at the back This coin like the others on this plate, is at Paris, and I have to thank M Babelon for kindly sending me the necessary casts

No 2 There appear to be only two examples of this interesting coin, the other, a poorer specimen, being in our National Collection The obverse has a striking head of Sappho (taken, no doubt, from a statue) with an unusual coiffure and features expressive of alertness and intellect

No 3, the reverse, has a lyre of four strings

No 4, a coin of Commodus (A D 180-193), possibly unique, with a head of Sappho similar to the head on No 1, but superior to it, showing the same tuft of hair at the back

facing p 60

VIII A bust in the British Museum (No 1828), a weaker and less stolid copy of the same type as the better known herm in the Galeria Geografica of the Vatican, with its sakkos for the hair and the two little spiral curls by the ears There is some resemblance to the head upon the bronze coins of Mitylene and Sappho is most probably intended

The "Castellani" bust in the British Museum (No 1829) There are a great many heads of this type, supposed to represent Sappho, in the various galleries of Europe, characterized by the open mouth, and the hair being held up by bands in sphendoné fashion

facing p 68

PLATE

- I\ The fifth century bust from the Villa Albani. It is of Pheidian character. This type of which there are many copies recalls the head on the electrum coins of Lesbos. Our photographs are from casts in the Cambridge Museum. *facing p* 70
- X A terra cotta relief in the British Museum (Cat. p. 19) discovered in Melos. Alcaeus and Sappho seem to be represented, though Kekulé and others dispute this. The date is about 480-460 B.C. *facing p* 72
- XI Four gems supposed to represent Sappho
 No. 1. Antique paste from a fine Greek work, given in C. W. King's *Handbook of Gems* (plate lxi. 6). If not Sappho it may be a Muse or possibly a Sibyl.
 No. 2. A cornelian from the Marlborough Collection. See, *ibid.*, plate lxi. 7. The inscription and the Bee (see below p. 64) and the lyre look like later additions.
 No. 3. Formerly in the Abbé Gravelle Collection (see Reinach, *Pierres Gravées* plate lxxxi). Sappho is standing before a pillar with a lyre upon it, as in the coin given below (p. 130).
 No. 4. The antiquity of this gem illustrated in Faber's *Imag.* 129 is very doubtful.
 For another beautiful Sappho gem see the vignette on title page *facing p* 74
- XII This appears on the damaged hydria, of which a representation is given on Plate III. Sappho is reading from a scroll perhaps of her own poems, while one girl companion Nicopolis holds a wreath over her head, another Kallis holds a lyre out to her and behind her stands a third girl unnamed. The hair of all four is bound in the same fashion as in the Albani bust, and the date will be the fifth century *facing p* 76
- XIII A leaf from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri containing the fragment of the Nereid Ode with its probable reference to the return of Charaxus Sappho's brother from Egypt. The page is interesting also palaeographically for presenting us with an actual digamma in the second letter of line 6. For permission to use this illustration my thanks are due to the Egypt Exploration Society and Drs. Grenfell and Hunt. *facing p* 90

PLATE

- XIV Sappho and Alcaeus on the Agrigentine crater of the fifth century B C, now at Munich As their names are inscribed, there can be no dispute about the ascription But the meaning of $\Delta\text{AMA KALOS}$ is not clear On the same vase are depicted two figures very similar in character to these, pledging one another, he with a cantharus and she with a lecythus Whether they also represent Sappho and Alcaeus is not certain, but surely it is probable *facing p 104*
- XV The bust, or rather head, in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, for a photograph of which I have to thank especially the Director of the Gallery This is of the same general type as the "Castellani" bust (Plate IX), but with a much severer and sadder expression, perhaps not quite in keeping with our ideas of the muse-loving Sappho The chin, also, is too rounded *facing p 108*
- XVI The Sappho of the Terme Museum, in Rome (from a photograph by Bernard Ashmole) *facing p 120*
- XVII The so-called "Oxford" bust in the Ashmolean Museum, from a cast at Cambridge taken before the restoration of the nose This is one more of the many busts of allied type, such as those in the Palazzo Ricardi, in the Villa Borghesi, the Corneto Museum, and elsewhere The head is of Pheidias character, but it is doubtful whether the bust belongs to it, the bared breast of which does not suit our conception of Sappho *facing p 126*
- XVIII Imperial bronze coins of the second and third century A D from the Vienna Cabinet, for the casts of which I have to thank Dr Münsterberg
- No 1 The obverse bears the head of Nausicaa, a local benefactress of Mitylene, otherwise unknown The reverse, alone given here, represents Sappho sitting and playing on a four-stringed lyre, with the inscription $\text{ΕΠΙ CΤΡΑ ΙΕΡΟΙΤΑ ΜΥΤΙΑΗ}$ The same reverse occurs on coins of Julia Procla, as below
- No 2 The reverse of a unique coin of Julia Domna, the wife of the Emperor Severus, struck between 193 and 214 A D Sappho is seen seated with a lyre resting on the seat at her left The legend is scarcely readable, but traces of $\Sigma\text{ΑΠ}$ and MV are just visible
- No 3 An Antonine coin of Eresus, as the inscription on the obverse shows, on which is Hermes bearded and

PLATE

wearing a petasus on a prow or base to l with a chlamys gathered on his left shoulder In his r is a caduceus and a horn of abundance. The reverse has ΣΑΦΦΩ and shows her sitting to l and holding in her extended right hand a plectrum or a roll Her left arm rests upon a lyre placed behind her on the seat.

No. 4 The reverse of a hemidrachma of Syracuse now at Paris having the inscription ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ A female figure stands to l. on what may be a pedestal, with chiton and diploidion, the latter being belled behind her like a sail In her left hand is a small branch of laurel and her right holds a roll half opened on which there seem to be traces of letters. This figure has hitherto been taken to be Τυχαία but S. Mirone gives reasons for supposing that Silanion's statue of Sappho may be here represented The date is the third century B.C.

No. 5. The reverse of a large brass of Gallienus (A.D. 258-67) on which we read

ΕΠΙΒΑΛΛΩΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ ΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑΙΩΝ
with Sappho in chiton and peplos seated to r playing on a lyre.

No. 6 The reverse of a coin of Mitylene having on its obverse a beautiful head of Julia Procla, styled like Nausicaa (No. 1) ΗΡΩΙΣ She may have been the daughter of Flavia Publicia Nicomachis both being benefactresses to the town On the reverse we have ΕΠΙΘΕΤΗ ΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑΙΩΝ with Sappho standing and holding or playing on a lyre placed upon a pillar

facing p. 150

XIX This little bronze now in the British Museum came most probably from Magna Graecia, and was originally in the Payne Knight Collection. Its date is about 500 to 488 and so within a century of Sappho's death. The style is archaic and it probably formed part of some ornament.

facing p. 188

A broken sard in the British Museum (No. 556) of a date not later than 400 B.C. A draped female figure possibly Sappho is shown reading from a scroll. In front of her is a pedestal with a lyre upon it. The word ΕΡΩC lightly scratched upon it, but not seen in the reproductions seems from the shape of the letters to be a later addition

facing p. 188

PLATE

- XX Sappho in reverie, from a terra cotta relief of Roman times, found in Rome and now in possession of a sculptor there (see Welcker, *Ant Denkm*, v, Taf 7, p 181) facing p 196
- Head on an electrum coin of Lesbos, given by Visconti (*Ikonogr Grec*, 1, Taf 3, No 4) p 225
- Sappho stepping in the dance with lyre in hand (see p 24) From Wolf's *Sappho*, frontispiece No 4, where the coin is described as Nummus argenteus ex *Hüb Goltzi Numismatis Graeciae*, tab xiv, insularum Graeciae num 8, qui etiam in *Celeb Hemsterhousi Polluce* ad p 1064 repraesentatur But there appears to be no silver coins with representations of Sappho upon them p 255
- The so-called "Sappho" at Vienna, but really Hygicia, as has been shown by Mr Bernard Ashmole, by whose permission I use this photograph Illustration on Jacket.

PREFACE

Τόδε ἐκ Σάπφους ἀμελγόμενος μέλι τοι φέρω

Bergk *Adespota* 62

THE object of this book is to provide the general public with a popular yet I hope not unscholarly and a comprehensive edition of Sappho containing all that is so far known of her unique personality and her incomparable poems. No one is more aware than the writer how difficult a task it is to do justice to the subject. But I have endeavoured under some disadvantages to cover the field of research and to make the work as complete as I could. The necessary material however is voluminous and widely scattered and some of it beyond ordinary reach. A proper equipment for the task ought to include a visit to lovely Lesbos but *non cuius homini contingit adire Corinthum*.

My sincere acknowledgments are due to my many predecessors whose labours have alone made my own work possible and I wish to express my especial obligations to my old pupil Professor A. S. Hunt for the kind encouragement I have received from him and the permission accorded me by the Egypt Exploration Society to make use of his discoveries among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri and to give a facsimile of the Nereid Ode. Mr Edmonds' scholarly edition of Sappho in the *Lyra Graeca* of the Loeb Series has of course been of invaluable service. Mr Lobel's edition has only come out when these pages were in their second proof. Professor Schubart, of Berlin has kindly allowed me to use his additional Fragments printed in that edition. In reproducing

objects of art and antiquity, I have received every assistance from Dr G F Hill and Mr A. H. Smith, of the British Museum, and my old friend and pupil, Mr E T Leeds, of the Ashmolean at Oxford, and Mr A B Cook, of the Museum of Classical Archæology at Cambridge. The great National Museums of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Florence, Rome, and Athens (through Mr Woodward of the British School) have shown me no less courtesy. Nor must I omit the names of Mr Penoyre, Librarian of the Hellenic Society, Mrs Strong, F S A, and Mr. J W E Pearce, who has kindly looked through the proofs, nor of Sir Alfred Mond, who supplied me with photographs of some of his Greek statuary, and Mr Bernard Ashmole, of Oxford, to whom I am similarly indebted.

My excuse for taking this work in hand must be that Mr Wharton's admirable and popular edition is now, owing to our advance in knowledge, out of date, and after serving its generation has, if we may say so without offence, "fallen on sleep," and may fairly give place to another on similar lines. One valuable feature of that edition was the very complete Bibliography, giving all the literature on Sappho up to the date of publication. Readers must not expect to find in the present edition any palmary emendations of the text. These have been for more competent hands to make, but now that Mr Lobel has for the first time established the canons of criticism for what is and what is not allowable in Sappho, the path of emendation is made clearer and safer.

After Joan of Arc Sappho marches at the head of woman-kind, and will repay all the study that can be given her. If this book enables others to know her better, I shall be satisfied.

C. R. HAINES.

Petersfield.
March, 1926

INTRODUCTION

*Your praise shall still find room
Even in the eyes of all posterity
That wear this world out to the ending doom*

SHAK *Sonnets* 55

Σαπφῶαι δὲ μένουσι φίλης ἐτι καὶ μένουσιν
ὠδῆς αἱ λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες

The Remains of Sappho

§ 1 With the possible exception of Shakespeare Homer is still the supreme poet and Sappho without any exception the poetess *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*¹ Not only are these two first in their art but they are also the first in time Homer has fared far better with posterity than Sappho though some centuries older We have his works more or less in full but we know next to nothing about his life With Sappho the case is reversed. The fragments of her poetry that have come down to us are lamentably small but on the other hand we can form some idea of her personality not only from what is said about her here and there by ancient authors but also from the little that we have of her actual writing Aristoxenus² the writer on Greek music tells us that Sappho and Alcaeus made confidants of their books and certainly there is much of a personal nature even in the little that we have of her works Being of a subjective lyrical character they naturally tell us much

¹ Galen, *Protrept.* 8 Anth. Pal. ix 26.

² See Porph. on Hor. *Sat.* II, 1 30 Acron on the same says Anacreon. Willamowitz (*Sappho u. Sim.* p 15 n. 2) prefers Archilochus, which is much more likely

that is of value for a true conception of her personality and life, as well as for a correct appreciation of her genius

§ 2 Suidas informs us that the μέλη λυρικά of Sappho were arranged in nine books,¹ and we learn from Servius, the commentator on Vergil, that the Bridal Songs (ἐπιθαλάμια) were gathered into a separate book² It has been thought that there may have been two editions of Sappho current in Alexandrian times, the earlier, according to subject matter, probably arranged by the grammarian Aristophanes in the third century B C , the other, some half-century later, according to metres, for which Aristarchus, the famous grammarian, was responsible But we may surely suppose, judging from all likelihood and from the example of Horace, that Sappho herself, if she published her own works,³ followed no such pedantic plan, certainly not that of Aristarchus I have therefore in this edition without hesitation discarded the metrical arrangement, which has for obvious reasons commended itself to editors hitherto, and have only attempted in a general way to group the fragments according to their generic character, as far as this is discernible⁴ The broad scheme is this —

Fragments 1-4 stand by themselves, and are put at the beginning ,

5-32 refer to Sappho's circle and her social life in general ,

¹ Cf also Anth Pal vii, 17, below, p 221

² On Verg *Georg* 1, 31, cf Pseud Dionys, *Rhet* (Usener, p 247) The Book was viii or ix See Wilam quoted in Pauly-Wissowa

³ She is represented on early vase paintings as reading from a volume of poems, see below, p 77

⁴ One or two may prove to be in wrong places, but these have been left where they are owing to the labour involved by any displacement of the numbers in the Index

- 33-55 (except 51 which is out of place and belongs to the section 71-87) are of a personal character
 56-60 have reference to her claims to immortality as a poetess
 61-70 give her philosophy of life as far as it remains to us
 71-87 her allusions to Nature and its beauties
 88-117 cletic poems invocations and references to Deities
 118-151 epithalamia or bridal songs in general
 152-173 various fragments that do not lend themselves to classification

Where single words only are recorded they will mostly be found in the vocabulary which is meant to contain every word which we possess of Sappho's

§ 3 We know from *Fragm. 142* that Sappho's first book in the edition followed by the papyrus contained 1320 lines. All the four books of the Odes of Horace together with the *Carmen Saeculare* contain only 3000 lines while the longest book the third has 1000 lines. It is of course possible that Sappho's first book containing all the poems in her favourite Sapphic metre was much longer than the others but even so we cannot suppose her total output to have been less than 8000 lines. Of all this we have to be at present as content as we can with less than the equivalent of 500 lines containing perhaps 2000 words all told. But this is not the worst. Even these meagre remains are in some cases full of corruptions and grievously mutilated. Many of them if not most have to be patched up or pieced together and the sense eked out by more or less precarious conjectures. We have not only to interpret Sappho's dreams but in many cases we are tempted in some well nigh forced to dream them for ourselves.

a perilous adventure, not lightly to be undertaken¹ Only two poems, out of perhaps five hundred, have come down to us quite complete in their numbers Fragm 3 probably stood first in the edition of Aristarchus according to metres, and is placed nearly in the same position here It is the famous *Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφρόδιτα*

Vogue and Subsequent Loss of Sappho's Poems

§ 4 We do not know by what means or through whose agency the poems of Sappho, numerous as they were, came to be collected and published It is not easy to imagine that in such early times she was able to issue an authoritative edition of her own Much of her work, however, must have survived among her friends and pupils of the "House of the Muses",² over which she presided, who were proud of her and cherished her memory Her lyrics soon found their way over Hellas The only contemporary anecdote which we have of Sappho, tells us that Solon, the great Athenian lawgiver, on hearing his nephew at a banquet sing one of Sappho's songs, was so delighted with it that he made the boy teach him the words there and then, and on being asked why he did so, answered "that I may not die before I have learnt it"³ This must have occurred in the first half of the sixth century B C Two hundred years later we find a character in the *Antilois* of Epicrates⁴ claiming to have learnt the songs of Sappho by heart And her songs were still being sung in Cicero's

¹ Mr Edmonds, in his recent edition (*Lyra Graeca*), has attempted it with much skill and ingenuity

² Fragm 61

³ Aelian apud Stobaeum, 29, 58 The words "*ἵνα μαθὼν αὐτὸ ἀποθάνω*" may mean "that as soon as I have learnt it I may die"

⁴ Athen xii, 605 E

time ¹ in the end of the first century A.D. ² in the second ³ and in the third.⁴

How much later the lyrics of Sappho survived to delight mankind is not certainly known. But various indications point to the conclusion that they were not wholly lost to the world till towards the end of the eleventh century of our era. We find quotations from Sappho though not (it appears) from Alcaeus in various grammarians till about that date. Their final loss the most irreparable which we have to deplore in the whole domain of pure literature due as it was partly to the general decadence of learning was accelerated no doubt by the unfamiliar dialect in which Sappho wrote. But we must attribute some share of the lamentable result to the bigoted hostility of the Church. Though the evidence is not quite conclusive we cannot wholly disregard the tradition that the works of Sappho among others came under the ban of the Hierarchy. The ascetic Tatian⁵ had centuries before led the way by a violent attack upon Sappho and her writings in such general terms however as not to make us feel certain that he had any real acquaintance with her works. The public destruction of her writings seems to have taken place first at the end of the fourth century A.D. in the time of Gregory Nazianzen whose tedious if pious works were held to be a suitable and sufficient substitute. Cardan⁶ about 1550 is our authority for

¹ Anth. Pal. v 132 Hor., Od. iv 9 11

² Plut., *Pyth. Or* 6 *Symp* vii, 8, 2 *Dion Chrys.* ii, 4

³ Gellius xix, 3

⁴ Athen. xlii, 605 E.

⁵ *Orat. ad Græc.* 53 (circa 180 A.D.) *Ἐπεὶ γὰρ γυναικῶν πορνεὶα δὲ ἁποτροπῆς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς δόξης ἀπολαύειν φέρεται.* He also calls her τῆς ἰατρῆς ἀλφειᾶς

De Sapientia ii.

thus, and he is partly corroborated by Peter Alcyonius,¹ who states that as a boy he heard from Demetrius Chalcondylas, that under the Byzantine Emperors the ecclesiastical authorities burnt the works of ancient Greek poets, especially those which contained *amores turpes lusus et nequitias amantium*, and he mentions expressly the poems of Sappho, Erinna, Anacreon, Mimnermus, Bion, Alcman, and Alcaeus. Further, Scaliger states that the works of Sappho and the other lyrists were burnt both at Rome and at Constantinople in 1073 under Gregory VII (Hildebrand). In fact, about this time, as above stated, Sappho's works did disappear. But it will still remain a question, why the far more reprehensible writings of Petronius, Martial, and others, not to mention the foul *Pueritia* of Straton in the Anthology, were still allowed to be copied by the pious hands of monks.

Sources from which Sappho's Poems have been Recovered

§ 5 Infinite pains have been taken by generations of scholars to repair the ravages of time, of ignorance, and of religious bigotry, by recovering every scrap of Sappho that can be found embedded in the whole of past literature. Examination will show that nearly fourscore sources have yielded their quota, here a little and there a little. Not all the extracts thus brought to light, which range from single words to several lines or stanzas, are attributed explicitly to Sappho in the places where they occur, but some, included here,² are conjecturally assigned to her, mostly by general consent, on considerations of dialect, style, and subject.

¹ *De Exilio*, p. 69, Leipzig, 1707, cf. also Blomfield, *Mus. Critic* 1, p. 422.

² Marked with an asterisk.

Until the wonderful discoveries of late years in Egypt there were only two considerable poems by Sappho known to us the Ode to Aphrodite already mentioned and the still more famous lyric to a beloved girl¹ describing in burning words and tumultuous imagery the whole passion of love. But now we have many stanzas and a considerable part of a narrative poem rescued from Egyptian rubbish heaps² the originals of which are mostly in Berlin or London. Unfortunately the owners of these papyrus rolls before throwing them into the waste-papyrus basket mostly tore them across perpendicularly. Consequently the lines are as a rule mutilated at the beginning or end or both³ and in order to extract any coherent sense conjecture unsatisfactory and inconclusive as it always is must necessarily be employed. Even in the parts that remain many letters are so nearly obliterated that guesswork is inevitable⁴.

Yet in spite of all some of the newly recovered fragments such as the two beautiful poems now in Berlin⁵ are a great addition to our knowledge of Sappho and her art. The XVth volume of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* by Drs Grenfell and Hunt⁶ contains a great number of small fragments of Sappho and also a few lines of a brief life of her a complete copy of which would have been most valuable. From the mention of Chamaeleon⁷

¹ *Fragm. 4*. The name is apparently not given, unless we accept the emendations of Wilamowitz or Edmonds. Catallus in his paraphrase introduces the name Lesbia in the second stanza, where Edmonds suggests Brocheo or Brochea (Attic *Βραχέω* or *Βραχέα*).

² Thus happily contravening the Sapphic maxim, *πῆ κίρις χίραδος* *Fragm. 63*.

³ e.g. *Fragm. 9* 87 107 etc.

⁴ A dot placed under a letter means that it is doubtful a line under a letter or word shows that it is conjecturally added.

⁵ *Fragm. 7* 8.

⁶ Vol. xv 1787 1788.

⁷ 1800 1 col. 2.

a philosopher and grammarian of the fourth century B C , who wrote a treatise on Sappho,¹ it is probable that the facts recorded by this epitomator were drawn from him. There are still hundreds of similar fragments, as yet undeciphered, in the hands of the same editors, and we may in the course of time look for some other small prizes, snatched from the realms of Orcus, or rather Osiris.

§ 6 Next to our obligations to the archæologists of Egypt, and apart from the great debt due to the transmitters to posterity of the two famous Odes,² we owe most to the third-century writer Athenæus in his *Deipnosophistæ*, a book which portrays the subjects discussed at literary banquets of the leading wits of the time. Other writers, who have given valuable extracts from or criticisms of the lost poems are Aristotle, Demetrius the rhetorician, Plutarch, Maximus Tyrius, Dion of Prusa, Galen, and Aristides the Sophist. In the works of the last, whose rhetoric is of a poetical cast, many other reminiscences of Sappho no doubt still lurk, for his great friend Alexander of Cotiæum, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, as we know, lectured on Sappho. The shorter quotations, which have been salvaged, many of them being of a mere verbal or grammatical character and consisting of single words, are from various writers on grammar and metre, and contribute little of any value for Sappho's poetry or her biography.³ Extant scholiasts to the ancient Greek writers supply us with nearly fifty quotations from Sappho, given for the purposes of illustration.⁴

¹ Athen. xiii, 599 C, *Τὸ περὶ Σαπφούς*

² Fragm. 3, 4

³ Mr J. A. Symonds has the hardihood to affirm that the smallest fragments are "perfect."

⁴ A good many of these may be drawn from Didymus Chalcenterus

Sappho and the Latin Poets

§ 7 Among Latin writers we find most familiarity with Sappho in Catullus Horace and perhaps Ovid Martial also mentions her twice or thrice Catullus had more of the Greek genius than any other Latin poet and in his lyrical art was more akin to Sappho In several places even in the little that has come down to us of Sappho we can detect where Catullus has imitated her and he has left us a translation¹ if it be not rather a paraphrase of the famous *Φαίβερά μοι κῆνος* ode which he addresses to his mistress Lesbia a name obviously reminiscent of Sappho Had we all Sappho's poems before us we should certainly find many more parallels between the two writers He has said nothing against her in his poems and he calls her *docta* i.e. skilled in her art.²

Horace bases his main scheme of lyric poetry on Alcaeus and Sappho though Alcaeus is certainly his favourite He has several more or less direct reminiscences of Sappho³ and of course alludes to her by name more than once Such poems as the Chloë dialogue and the lines to Neobulë⁴ in the *Ionic a minore* metre may look back to Sapphic originals He evidently had a high admiration for her and sets her with Alcaeus among the Shades in the abodes of the Blest.⁵ There is nothing to her discredit to be found in his works The word

¹ A very poor affair in spite of Swinburne's ridiculous eulogy "a more beautiful translation there never was and will never be"!

² Catull. 35 16 cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 235b (= Ael. *VH* xli, 19) Max. Tyrius viii 90 Martial *Epigr.* vii, 69 10 x, 35 16, speaks of her as *docta*, but reflects on her chastity Terent. Maur. calls her *doctissima* (*De Metris*); so also Mar. Victor iii 5 4.

Odes i, 26 1 iv 9 11 *Epist.* i, 19 28.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Od.* iii 9 and iii, 12.

⁵ The only real persons there

*mascula*¹ applied to her, which some have so pitifully tried to interpret in an evil sense against her, obviously—surely obviously—describes her poetry only, as the whole point of the comparison with Archilochus is in connexion with their respective literary styles Sappho, says Horace, softens the muse of Archilochus, but not so as to make it effeminate²

One would have expected Ovid to show admiration for Sappho and familiarity with her works But except in a line or two here and there in the Epistle of Sappho to Phaon,³ which is possibly, but not certainly, by him, we find in Ovid very little trace of her work⁴ He mentions her several times, it is true, as an erotic teacher, and the meaning is curiously ambiguous in one or two of these passages He charges her with *lascivia*, but this need not necessarily have a wholly bad meaning⁵ For Apuleius,⁶ defending himself against the charge of writing *ludicros et amatorios versus*, retorts that Anacreon and Simonides and Alcman had done the same, and Sappho too, she indeed *lascive* and with such exquisite grace, that by the sweetness of her songs she reconciles us to their unaccustomed dialect Here the word does not seem to require any worse signification than “sportive”

¹ Ausonius, *Idylls*, vi, 24, also calls her *mascula*, but he has one eye on Statius, *Silvae*, v, 3, 154 (*viriles*), and the legendary leap from Leucate

² See Wilam, *Sappho u Simonides*, p 17, note, and Porphyry on the passage

³ *Heroid* xv, for a translation see below

⁴ *pace* Lunák

⁵ *Ars Amat* iii, 331, *Remed Am* 761, *Trist* ii, 365, cf *Am* ii, 18, 26, and 34 In the last two passages he calls her *Lesbis amica*, and *Lesbis amata*, and apparently refers to the Epistle (or an Epistle) of Sappho to Phaon, *Heroid* xv, 19, 201

⁶ *Apol* 9

The Sappho cult still ran high in the second and third centuries A D The last personality of the ancient world with whom we can connect the name of Sappho was the emperor Julian From his references to her works and his twice calling her ἡ καλὴ Σαπφώ the exquisite Sappho we see that she was an especial favourite with him the last of the Græco-Romans

No Probability of recovering Sappho's Complete Works

§ 8 That a complete copy of Sappho's poems should ever be recovered is now almost beyond the bounds of possibility The sarcophagus of a lover of Greek learning in Egypt or a poet's library in buried Herculaneum is the only place we can look to for such a joyous resurrection unless we put any faith in the hazy tradition that in the Kubbet-el Khazneh or Dome of the Treasure at Damascus were promiscuously heaped together at the time of the Arab Conquest all the books of Greek learning found in Damascus to remain and rot there unopened ever since.

Life of Sappho

§ 9 But let us pass on now to what is known authentically about Sappho's life She was born as is most probable at Eresus¹ on the west coast of the island of Lesbos But she is usually spoken of as a Mitylenæan² and there can be little doubt that the main part of her life was lived at Mitylene Possibly

¹ So Dioscorides (Anth. Pal. vii, 407) and Suidas, *sub voce* Her effigy on the coins of Eresus cannot be explained in any other way Tradition also is said to support this theory But Athen. xiii, 596 says that the Sappho of Eresus was a courtesan and not the poet.

² e.g. Herod. iii, 125 Moschus, iii, 92 Strabo xiii 617 Athen. x, 425 A. Ox. Pap. 1800 Par. Marble 38 Schol. Phaedrus 235 C. ib., *Phædri Vita* Anth. Pal. vii, 17 xvi, 310 (vii, 14 407 ix, 66 189) Pollux ix, 84

on the death of her parent, when she was six, the family migrated thither

§ 10 Her father's name was most probably Skamandronymus (sometimes shortened into Skamandrus or Skamon),¹ and her mother's Kleis.² We do not know the year, nor even the approximate year, in which Sappho was born, but it must, we may suppose, have been during the ninth decade of the seventh century B C.³ She had three brothers, all, probably, junior to her, of whom Charaxus was the eldest, Eurygyus the second, and the youngest, her favourite, Larichus.⁴ We know nothing of the last-named, except that Sappho "often sang his praises" in his capacity of cup-bearer at the civic feasts of the Mitylenaeans, at which we may suppose that Sappho also might be present, in their Town Hall. This office, we know from Athenaeus,⁵ was reserved for well-born and comely youths. We learn nothing more of Eurygyus, but there was a later Mitylenaeon of similar name, and son of a Larichus, in the time of Alexander.⁶ As the conjunction of names seems to show that he was of Sappho's blood, we see a chance of the Sappho tradition being kept up in Mitylene for more than 200 years.

§ 11 Charaxus, the elder brother, is mentioned by several writers. Much to Sappho's disgust he contracted

¹ Suidas gives six or seven alternatives, with further MS variations. Eurygyus is the only possible competitor to Skamandronymus (cf. also Schol., *Pind. Vit.*), which latter we find in Herod. ii, 135, Schol. Plato, *Phaedr.* 235 C, Ael., *VH.* xii, 19, Oxy. Pap. 1800.

² So Suidas and the Schol. *Pind. Vit.* Fragn. 53 is so like a folk-song that we cannot be sure that *μᾶτερ* means Sappho's mother.

³ See Athen. xiii, 599. Euseb. places her *floruit* in the 42nd Olympiad (B.C. 599-596).

⁴ Oxy. Pap. 1800.

⁵ ix, 424 E., cf. Eustath. Hom., *Iliad*, xx, 234 (Schol. *Vict.*)

⁶ Arrian, iii, 6, 5.

a liaison with a beautiful courtesan of Naucratis in Egypt, named Doricha¹ also perhaps nicknamed Rhodōpis or Rosy-cheeks. He redeemed her from slavery at a great cost married her and had children by her. Charaxus traded between Lesbos and Naucratis in the native Lesbian wine which was famous in antiquity. According to Ovid and Athenaeus Charaxus impoverished himself by his lavish expenditure on Doricha, and Ovid implies that his trade taken up to recoup himself was not a reputable one. Sappho took him severely to task for his infatuation which brought disgrace on his family and was an object of derision to his enemies. The beautiful epigram of Posidippus (about 250 B.C.) deserves to be quoted here²—

Thy bones O Doricha are dust long long ago
 Thy robe that breathed of scent the band about thy hair
 Thou who of yore didst clasp Charaxus young and fair
 And breast to breast with him didst taste the morning
 wine

But the white pages of sweet Sappho's song are thine
 They live and ever shall live speaking to the ear
 Thy happy name which Naukratis shall still hold dear
 While sea borne ships o'er Nile's lagoons pass to and fro

§ 12 Sappho was married says Suidas to a certain Kerkylas or Kerkolas a very rich man who hailed from Andros. Some suppose but on somewhat flimsy grounds this name to be a fictitious and ribald appellation taken from the comic poets who (it is conjectured)

¹ Suidas under *Alceus* says she was a Thracian but Athen. xiii 596 implies that she was of Naucratis (*Ἰφρυκία*). Herodotus gives an account of her ii, 135 see also Ovid, *Heroid.*, xv 63, 117. Posidippus in Athenaeus above-quoted. Strabo, xvii 808. Suidas, s.v. *Ροδωνίδος ἀνδρῆμα*, and Phot. *Lex.* *ibid.* Fragments 9, 10 and possibly 11.

Athen. xiii, 596 C. Willamowitz *Sappho und Simonides* p. 19

held Sappho up to shame and ridicule on the comic stage. But beyond such titles of comedies as *Sappho*, *Phaon*, and *Leucadius*, there is nothing to support this idea¹. We hear of only one child as the result of this marriage, a daughter named Kleïs².

§ 13. Beside the affair of Charaxus, the only incident in Sappho's life of which we have any certain record, is her sojourn in Sicily, mentioned on the Parian Marble, which in its present condition simply says that Sappho sailed from Mitylene to Sicily as an exile³. But we do not know whether she was banished and, if so, why, or went into voluntary exile. The subsequent words on the Marble, which might have cleared up this point, are mutilated, but the conjecture of Mr Edmonds, <τὸ δεύτερον>, as if this were her second exile, is neat and has something to be said for it. If correct, however, what of her first exile? Mr Edmonds is ready for the question, and refers us to a marginal note on a papyrus fragment of Alcaeus at Berlin⁴. The Berlin editors profess to read only two *scholia* to this text, but a third, whose existence they admit, but fail to read it, is given though dubiously by Mr Edmonds thus αὐτὸν τὸν ποιήτην κ<αἰ>[τ(ῇν)] Σαπφῶ κ<αἰ> τ(ὸν) Ἀντιμενίδαν <ἀδ>ελφὸν <ὄντ>α τ(οῦ) Ἀλκαίου <καί> τινας ἄλλους. The second *scholion* speaks of a prior banishment of Alcaeus and his friends (including Phanias?), for an unsuccessful plot against Myrsilus, to Pyrrha in Lesbos. If we can place any sufficient reliance on the above reading of lines, which are confessedly almost indecipher-

¹ For a discussion of these plays see below, p. 27.

² Ovid, *Heroid* xv, 70, 120, and Suidas. See also Fragg. 54, 61 (? 55).

³ If the date was about 598 B.C., as Edmonds thinks, Sappho was probably young.

⁴ Berl. Klassiker texte, 5, 2, 12.

able we shall have to associate Sappho with Alcaeus and other opponents of the autocratic régime in their enforced seclusion at Pyrrha. This *if true* might throw some much needed light upon a line in Ovid's *Epistle* ¹

Nec me Pyrrhiades Methymniadesve puellæ
Nec me Lesbium cetera turba iuvant

which unexpectedly brings Sappho into connexion with the Maidens of Pyrrha. It is a curious if but slight coincidence that early coins of Pyrrha bear a female head similar to those which appear on the coins of Mitylene and are commonly associated with Sappho.

§ 14 But Sappho probably junior in age to Alcaeus would have been somewhat young at this period. The only allusion to political affairs in her extant fragments is one which has quite recently come to light on one of the Oxyrhynchus leaves ² where the Lesbian clan composed of the descendants of Penthilus is mentioned. Pittacus the famous Mussolini of Mitylene was connected with this clan by his marriage with the sister of Dracon the son of Penthilus.

§ 15 It is not known where Sappho resided in Sicily on her retirement thither. Ovid ³ makes her apostrophize the Megarian maids and Megarian mothers as if the Sicilian Megara were to be her destination in case of a flight to Sicily. But Syracuse seems in every way the more likely spot for her residence. It was the most important city on the island and the mention on the Parian Marble of the Gamoni or Junkers as ruling in that city at the time seems only relevant,

¹ *Heroid.* xv 15. Some MSS. give another (corrupt) reading here: Nec mihi Pyrino subeunt Mnæsve puella where neither name nor grammar is tolerable (Pyrino = Gyrinno and Mnæs = Mnæddika (?))

² *Fragm.* 38.

³ *Heroid.* xv 54.

if it relegated Sappho thither We know, too, that at a later time Syracuse prided itself on possessing a fine statue of Sappho which had a place of honour in the Town Hall ¹

With the exception of this stay in Sicily, probably of no long duration, Sappho's life, as far as we know, was passed in Lesbos and mainly at Mitylene However, she may well have travelled on the mainland of Asia, and more especially visited Sardis and Phocaea ²

Sappho and her Environment

§ 16 Sappho, even more than her elder contemporary Alcaeus, was the glory of Lesbos, τὸ μελιχρὸν αὔχημα Λεσβίων, as Lucian ³ calls her, coupling her name with those of the martial Telesilla and the philosophic Theano As all great writers in some way are, she must have been the product of her age and environment and the mouthpiece of the tendencies and ideals of her time In appraising her character and achievements, we must therefore take into account, so far as we can discover them, the racial antecedents, the social conditions, and the natural features of her native Lesbos

§ 17 This island, which has been called the "pearl of the Ægean", was colonized at different times by various races, the ancient Pelasgians so-called, the Carians from the mainland, and the Aeolians and Achaeans from Greece proper The word *Aeolian* is itself said to signify a "mixed" race How far Sappho herself

¹ S. Mirone has tried to show with some success in the *Revue Numismatique*, vol. lv, ser. iv, p. 16, that a Syracusan coin bears on its reverse the representation of this statue of Sappho See Plate iv, 5, 6, 7 Cic., *Verr.* ii, 4, 57

² See Fragments 6₂, 6₈, 8₁₉, 54₃, 97₄, 141₃, 147₂

³ *Amores*, 30, cf. Aristides, *Ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ*, § 152, Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1398 B

was of pure Greek descent is not known. The point will be further discussed in connexion with her personal appearance.

Lesbos was renowned from early times for its beauty, fertility and exquisite climate¹. The wine of Lesbos² and its figs were famous for their excellence and the barley of Eresus³ figures on its coinage. Homer singles out the Lesbian women as the most beautiful in the world⁴ and the concubine of Achilles the rosy-cheeked Briseis⁵ was probably from Lesbos as well as her understudy the daughter of the Lesbian Diomede. The elegance of their dancing is praised in connexion with Sappho by an anonymous writer⁶. Antipater of Thessalonika calls Sappho the glory of Lesbian women of the lovely tresses⁷ tied with a purple band⁸. Contests were held in Lesbos not only for beauty (*καλλιστεία*) in the temple of Hera but also for *οἰκονομία* and *σωφροσύνη*⁹. It was pre-eminently the home of dance¹⁰ and lyric song and legend symbolized its supremacy in music by telling that the head and lyre of Orpheus were carried from the mouth of the Hebrus to Lesbos¹¹. Moreover it

¹ Pliny *NH* v 31 Diod. Sic. v 82.

² Verg. *Georg.* ii, 90 Ovid *Ars Am.* i, 57 Strabo, 808 Athen. iii, 92 xi, 42.

Athen. iii 111 F

⁴ *Iliad*, ix, 179-271

⁵ *Iliad* i, 322. T. G. Tucker (*Sappho* Melbourne 1914 p. 13) says "Artistically the distinguishing mark of the Lesbians as represented in Homer was their clear open-eyed original observation of essentials, their veracity of description, their dislike of the indefinite and the mystic." The source of this statement I have not traced.

Anth. Pal. ix, 189 see below p. 184

⁷ Anth. Pal. ix 26

⁸ Anth. Pal. vi 211

Athen. xlii 610 A.

¹⁰ Anth. Pal. vii, 718 ix, 189

¹¹ His gory visage down the stream was sent,

Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore —Milton's *Lycidas*.

was the home of Terpander, the founder of Greek music, and Arion the incomparable harpist and dithyrambist. It was in every way fitting that the tenth muse should come from such a home. As Plato so gracefully puts it—

The Muses are but nine, say some,
how carelessly !
Can they not see
Sappho, the tenth, from Lesbos come ?¹

The Aeolian Race

§ 18 In the seventh century B.C. the Aeolians of Lesbos were a vigorous and gifted race, brave in war, enterprising in trade, vehement in politics, eminent in poetry and music.² They had the sense to see, as the Italians in our own day had the sense to see, that a dictator is sometimes the only salvation for a state given over to the selfish quarrels of partisans, and our sympathies go with Pittacus in his stand for justice, tranquillity, and order. He seems to us a far finer character, in the field of politics, than Alcæus, whose politics were not on a par with his poetry, though they lend it interest and vividness. Even if Alcæus were not a lover of Sappho, as some have thought, the two were certainly friends, and the possibility is that Sappho shared his views to some extent, even if she did not suffer banishment for her opinions. Her exile, if such it really was, cannot have been of long duration. Alcæus, as we know, returned from exile, and accepting the situation made his peace with Pittacus.

¹ Anth. Pal. ix, 506

² They at one time conquered a part of the Troad, and disputed in her ambitions not unsuccessfully with Athens herself. The Asiatic Aeolians were of much inferior fibre, see Athen. xiv, 624 (quoting from Heracles Ponticus).



NITYLENE, THE SOUTHERN HARBOUR

(By kind permission of Mr. J. M. 1777)

Position of Women in Lesbos

§ 19 In one all important point the Aeolians of Lesbos afforded a great contrast to the Ionians and Dorians namely in the position held by women in their country These seem not to have been secluded as at Athens and among the Ionians generally where as we know the less women were seen in public and the less they were talked about the better were they thought of ¹ Only the refined and intellectual courtesan an Aspasia or a Phryne could in Athens live any sort of free life Nor were the Lesbian women brought up as were the Dorian under discipline and strict rules of conduct for the primary purpose of becoming robust breeders for the men and bearing to them vigorous children worthy to be Spartan citizens On the one hand no harem system appears nor on the other a kultur of eugenics based on the training of gymnasium or palestra. The women of Lesbos lived it seems, a natural life as they did in ancient Egypt and were the equals of men in social opportunity if not in mental capacity But the modern tendency for women to become as far as possible duplicates of men had no place among the Aeolians or any other Greeks To push anything to extreme lengths was abhorrent to the Greek genius It seemed to them as it is bad taste The Aeolian women were content to compete with men in all arts that were common to both sexes. They had no wish to unsex themselves The duties of wife and mother were still the accepted rôle ²

Sappho's Vocation

§ 20 Sappho as we have seen married and had a daughter Probably her husband died when Kleis

¹ Thuc. II, 45

In later times Lesbian women acquired a very evil reputation. See Athen. x, 443 A Lucian, *Dial Meretr* 5

was quite small,¹ and Sappho took up a profession, of which we hear nearly for the first time, though no doubt it existed in the world long before. She conducted a sort of academy for the instruction of girls in poetry, music, singing, and dancing,² in fact in the culture of all physical and mental graces. Part of her work no doubt was the organizing and conducting of processional dances and songs for the festivals of the gods. Such a scene is depicted in an anonymous epigram³

To mild-eyed Hera's glorious temple go,
Ye Lesbian maids, and delicately there
Weave the fair dance for her, and Sappho so
With golden lyre in hand shall set the air,
That in the joy of that glad dance ye say,
Surely Kallhopé herself doth play⁴

This establishment is called *Μοισοπόλων οἰκία*,⁵ the House of the Lovers of the Muses. It became no doubt the centre of a literary coterie, or salon, as well as a house of instruction. If the words of the fragment quoted can be pressed, it might seem that Sappho died in the building where she presided. Incidentally, we learn a few facts about this literary circle. Sappho's connexion with the friends and pupils whom she gathered round her is compared by Maximus Tyrius⁶ to the *τέχνη ἐρωτική* of Socrates, as described by Plato. Here it may be remarked that, since Maximus, a philosopher of high character and noble sentiments,

¹ See Ovid, *Heroid* xv, 70

² Nossis (Anth Pal vii, 718) calls Mitylene *καλλίχορος*, the city of the fair dances

³ Anth Pal ix, 189

⁴ Miss Patrick, in her *Sappho*, p. 106, holds that she and her pupils formed a *thiasos* or religious society for the worship of Aphrodite

⁵ Fragm 61. Or read *Μοισοπόλω* "that serves the muses"

⁶ xciv, 24

certainly regards the love of Socrates for his friends and pupils Alcibiades and Charmides and Phædrus as perfectly innocent in fact as Platonic he must be crediting Sappho with feeling the same pure affection¹ for her friends and disciples Gyrinno² and Atthis³ and Anactoria.⁴ He adds that both Socrates and Sappho claimed to love (ἐρᾶν) many friends and to be attracted by all beautiful things⁵

§ 21 Besides the three named above we hear from Suidas of Telesippa and Megara Gongyla of Colophon⁶ and Euneica of Salamis Mnasiuka, or Dika is named twice by Sappho⁷ and Hero (of Gyara?) once⁸ Ovid adds Cydro (or Cydno)⁹ and in a corrupt reading Mnais¹⁰ Damophyla appears in Philostratus's life of Apollonius Timas in a probably spurious epigram¹¹ and Erinna of Teos or Telos or Tenos has been cited by Suidas but probably in error¹² as a pupil of Sappho The elder poetess of the name may have been a contemporary of Sappho In a poem she calls herself (if the epigram

¹ Cf. also Plut. *Lycorgus*, 18.

² Max. Tyr xxiv 9 Fragm. 16.

³ Max. Tyr xxiv 9 Suidas Fragm. 6, 18, 19

⁴ Max. Tyr xxiv 9 Fragm. 8₁ Suidas (? = Anagora of Miletus) Anactoria is said to be a name for Miletus—Anagora then might be the name and Anactoria = the Milesian Ovid, *Her* xv 17 (v.l. Amynthone)

⁵ Themistius (*Or* 13) however blames Sappho and Anacreon for unmeasured or rather immeasurable eulogies of their darlings. It is not altogether to her credit that Sappho is so often coupled with Anacreon. E.g. Dion Chrys., *Or* ii, 24 Apul. *Apol* 9 Plut. *Symp* vii, 8 2 Aul. Gell. xix, 3 Athen. xiv 639 A.

⁶ Fragm. 5 21

⁷ Fragm. 18 12.

⁸ Fragm. 20

Ovid, *Heroid.* xv 17

⁹ Ovid *Heroid.* xv 15 and Choeroboscus (Corn. Cop. Aldi, 286b) Wilam. introduces Mnais into Fragm. 97

¹⁰ Given below p. 178.

¹¹ In Fragm. 22 we find Eirena or Eranna alluded to.

is genuine) συνεταίρῃς of Baucis, the Mitylenaeon. She died at 17, and her fame rested upon an epic poem on "The Spindle." An epigram compares her to Sappho—

Sappho excelled Erinna in her lyric verse,
As far as she did Sappho in hexameters

The two names, Nikopolis¹ and Kallis, which appear in the painting on the Athenian hydria depicted in the illustration (p. 76), are probably only conventional Athenian names of the fifth century B.C. Sappho had two rivals in her vocation, with whom Maximus compares the sophists Prodicus, Gorgias, and the others as rivals of Socrates. Sappho's competitors were Gorgo and Andromeda,² for the latter of whom Atthis, one of her favourites, deserted her. But, no doubt, Sappho was held in far greater estimation than they were, and we can see how great her fame as a personality and an instructress must have been, when we consider from what distant parts of the Greek world pupils came to be with her.

Unfounded Charges against Sappho's Character

§ 22 It is necessary at this point to say a few words—and they shall be as few as possible—on the subject of the charges so often made and so widely believed against Sappho's moral character. These, brutally put, are —

(1) That her liking for her girl friends was an impure affection, such as in later days was from its supposed prevalence in Lesbos branded as Lesbianism³. Suidas,

¹ See below, p. 76. The second and third letters read more like E and U on the vase.

² Fragm. 14, 17, 39, 110.

³ See Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides*, p. 73, note.

speaking of Atthis Megara and Telesippa merely says *πρὸς ας καὶ διαβολῇ εἰσὶν αἰσχρὰς φίλας*. He evidently does not endorse it. A fragment of a biography of Sappho (based perhaps on Chamaeleon's treatise)¹ recently found in Egypt² εἰς κατηγορηται ὑπ' ἐρίων ὡς αὐακτος οἶσα τοῖς τροποῖς καὶ γυναικερόστροια. Ovid is the earliest witness against Sappho saying in his *Epistle to Phaon*—

Atque alix centum quas non sine crimine unavi³
and

Lesbides infamem quae me fecistis amore
and

Nota sit et Sappho quid enim lascivius illa?⁴
and

Lesbia quid docuit Sappho nisi amare puellas?⁵
There is further a *scholion* of Porphyry on Horace *Ep* i 9 28 *vel quia tribas diffamatur esse*. Voilà tout! This is all that the muck rake can scrape together from the dirt heaps of the past on this particular charge.

(2) That Sappho was a courtesan in plain Biblical language a harlot. Tatian as we have seen above roundly calls her so *εραῖρα* is his term. The ambiguity of this word which is used in its old and innocent sense of friend or comrade by Sappho⁶ may have misled

¹ Cf. also Tatian, *Orat. ad Græc.* 53 quoted above.

² Ox. Pap. 1800 dating from the end of second or beginning of third century. We may recall the fact that even Socrates was accused of vice with his pupils: see Lucian *De Domo* 4. Juvenal ii, 10 cf. Athenaeus v chap. 12 and 61.

³ But the best MS. has *hic* for *non* and *crimine* means rather *charge* than wrong-doing.

⁴ *Ars Amat* iii, 331. *Lascivius* need not have a wholly bad meaning; cf. Apul., *Apol* 9 also of Sappho. See § 7 above.

⁵ *Trist* ii, 385. The Latin is ambiguous. It may mean "teach girls to love" cf. *Rem Am* 781.

⁶ *Fragm.* 34 89 111 1-8. Athen. xiii 57 discusses this question in connexion with two of these passages.

readers From Seneca's scornful allusion to a tract by Didymus Chalcenterus on the question *An Sappho publica fuerit*? we gather that it was a trivial and useless subject of discussion¹

(3) That she conceived a frantic love for a beautiful youth named Phaon, lived for a time as his mistress, and when deserted by him threw herself from the Leucadian Cliff, whether being drowned there or thus curing herself of her infatuation is not clearly stated

Now in the first place, these charges are mutually destructive If Sappho was addicted to Lesbianism, a vice which was not associated with Lesbos till much later, she could not well have qualified for a successful courtesan—a *κάλον δαμόσιον*, as she calls such a one The instincts of a courtesan lie in quite a different direction Again, the supposed passion for Phaon precludes by its intensity and youthful character, let alone what we may suppose to have been its fatal termination, indulgence in the infamies with which she is charged A complete explanation for the courtesan story is found in the fact recorded by several writers, but denied by most moderns, that there was another Sappho in Lesbos, a courtesan, who was also a *ψάλτρια* and possibly, too, a lyrist² No doubt she was subsequent to the real Sappho This seems a perfectly simple origin for the tale, and certainly does not merit the incredulity with which it has been treated It is more than likely that the name Sappho was in earlier as it was certainly in later times appropriated by the votaries of Aphrodite Pandemos

¹ Seneca, *Epist* 88

² *Sappho* (2) and *Φάων* in Suidas Athen viii, 596, says on the authority of Nymphis (or Nymphiodorus), fourth century B C, that this other Sappho, a courtesan, was of Eresus Cf Hesych Miles, 36, and Photius s v *Λευκάτης* In Anth Pal v, 246, we have a courtesan named Sappho mentioned

The Phaon Story

§ 23 The Sappho-Phaon legend—it is nothing better than a fable—has permeated literature to a far greater extent owing to its picturesqueness and to Ovid's if it be Ovid's characteristic treatment of it in the familiar Epistle to Phaon. A translation of this has for convenience been placed at the end of the present volume.¹ Phaon can in no sense be considered a historical character. The fables about him are so various and so absurd. Those which relate to the aged ferryman beloved by Aphrodite and those which tell of the youthful Phaon with whom Sappho was infatuated have little connexion with one another. Phaon the Shining One is redolent of myth and has been identified by some with Phaethon or Adonis.² Sappho mentions Phaethon in a newly discovered Fragment³ but we have no evidence corroborating the statement of Palaephatus that Sappho often made songs about her love for Phaon. Wilamowitz⁴ considers this a later Byzantine addition but it is more likely that ἀντήρ in this passage means Aphrodite and not Sappho⁵ so that what Palaephatus states is that Sappho wrote lyrics about the love of Aphrodite for Phaon. Nothing could be more likely than this as the Phaon legend was connected with Lesbos and Aphrodite was the presiding goddess of Sappho's poetry.

¹ Pope's translation was useless for this purpose, as it leaves out many lines and is more in the nature of a paraphrase.

² The story of Phaon being hid by Aphrodite among lettuces is told also of Adonis. See Aelian, *VA* xii, 17. *Athen.* iii, 69.

110

³ *Sappho and Simonides* p. 33 ff. where the whole Phaon legend is dealt with at length.

⁴ See J. M. F. Bascoul *La Chaste Sappho*

The Leucadian Leap

§ 24 With the relegation of Sappho's Phaon¹ to the realm of fable falls the whole story, as far as it concerns her, of the Leucadian leap. There are so many inconsistencies and improbabilities about the entire tale, that no reliance whatever can be placed upon it. Menander² is the first author who attributes the leap to Sappho, but he only reports it as hearsay (λέγεται is his word), and he discredits his own statement by asserting that Sappho was the first to try the leap. For Stesichorus, Sappho's contemporary, makes Calyce³ leap earlier, and says nothing of Sappho. Nor does Anacreon,⁴ who used the expression as a proverbial one. Charon of Lampsacus⁵ gave the priority to Phobus of Phocaea, and Strabo says that the ancients gave it to Cephalus. Ovid begins the series of love-sick jumpers with Deucalion, than which absurdity can no further go. Statius,⁶ Alciphron,⁷ Ausonius,⁸ Photius (but he gives Sappho the hetæra as an alternative), all attribute the leap to Sappho (not necessarily as the first to take it). But Photius⁹ elsewhere, giving a list from Ptolemy, the son of Hephaestion, of all those who leapt, does not mention Sappho, and Servius,¹⁰

¹ There was apparently a legend current in Lesbos of the love of Philomela for Phaon. See Schöne, *Untersuch. ü. d. Leben d. Sappho*. Cf. Lunák, *Sapphicae Quaest.*, p. 80 n.

² Strabo, v., 452. It is not always noticed that the words οὗ δὲ λέγεται πρώτη Σαπφώ, being in anapaestic metre, should be added to the quotation from Menander.

³ Athen. xiv., 619 D.

⁴ Bergk, 19.

⁵ Plut., *De Virt. Mul.* 18.

⁶ *Silv.* v., 3, 154.

⁷ vi., 1.

⁸ *Idyll* vi., 24, cf. *Epigr.* 92, 13.

⁹ Photius s.v. Λευκάτης, and § 190.

¹⁰ Ad Verg., *Aen.* iii., 279.

after an account of Phaon and Aphrodite and the desire of women for Phaon's love adds *one* of these was said to have jumped from the cliff. He says nothing about Sappho. Turpilus who wrote plays modelled on Menander in one called *Leucadia* calls Phaon's lover Dorcium. All these are damning facts against Sappho's connexion with Phaon and not less so that no knowledge of it is shown by Herodotus or Aristotle or the early writers in general or by Plutarch or Galen.

Sappho and the Later Comedy

§ 25 Most critics have attributed the ill fame that gathered round the name of Sappho to the poets of the Middle and New Comedy but it must be confessed that there is little positive evidence for this. In the Old Comedy we find Cratinus mentioning Phaon in connexion with Aphrodite¹ while Plato the comic writer wrote a *Phaon* at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.—we may suppose on the same subject of the legendary Phaon—but he introduces into the play a Leucadian named Philoxenus.² As far as we know it was Ameipsias who in the transition stage between the Old and the Middle Comedy first wrote a *Sappho*.³ Of the Middle Comedy writers Antiphanes wrote a *Sappho*⁴ and a *Phaon* and a *Leucadius*.⁵ In the first of these he introduces Sappho as composing and solving riddles in verse. Lunak denies that the Phaon of Antiphanes was our Phaon as a Pythagorean is brought

¹ Athen. ii, 70

² Athen. i, 5. He may or may not be the poet.

Only one word of this survives, viz. *καθ' ὅρας*.

³ Pollux, x, 40, says he used *τάλ' ε* etc., in his *Phaon*—*καὶ ἐπὶ καὶ ἐπὶ Σαρφεῖ*. This may mean of course, as in Sappho, but better possibly as in his *Sappho*.

⁵ Or Leucas.

into the play There appears to be a Phaon, who was a Pythagorean, in the *Tarentines* of Alexis A little later Ephippus wrote a *Sappho*, but we know nothing of it¹ Timocles and Amphis, also poets of the Middle Comedy of Alexander's time, wrote each a *Sappho* play, and the latter a *Leucas*² also Diphilus, of the New Comedy, treated the same theme, and regardless of chronology represented Archilochus and Hippōanax as lovers of Sappho³ Menander, of the New Comedy, refers, as we have seen, to Sappho and the leap from the Leucadian cliff in his *Leucadia* So much for the meagre light thrown on this subject by the little that we have of the later writers of Comedy at Athens

*Improbability of the Charges against Sappho*⁴

§ 26 The great unlikelihood of Sappho having been a shameless and abandoned woman will be apparent from the following facts She belonged to a respectable family of good descent in Lesbos, as we know from the office which her brother Larichus held at Mitylene She married, probably in early life, a wealthy man and had a daughter, who lived with her and was cherished as the apple of her eye⁵ She died, as it seems, in her own House of the Muses,⁶ and was buried in Mitylene⁷ Girls from various parts of the Greek world came to her for instruction, with the consent, we may suppose, of their friends and relations She was commissioned to write wedding songs for friends and strangers, to

¹ Athen xiii, 572

² Athen vii, 277, 339 C

³ Athen xi, 487, 599

⁴ See Wilam, *Sappho u Simonides*, p 73

⁵ Fragm 54

⁶ Fragm 61

⁷ Anth Pal vii, 17

organize and conduct religious processions in honour of Hera, and she wrote hymns to Artemis the chaste Goddess of Marriage.¹ Is it conceivable that a woman of infamous character could have done all this? Her countrymen honoured her says Aristotle though she was a woman. Would he not have added καὶ ἀσελγῆς had she been so? Aristides and Lucian look upon her as an honour to her native country. Her head was put upon the coins of Eresus and Mitylene. Alcaeus her contemporary calls her pure (αἷνα). She is spoken of with praise or without a word of blame by such men as Solon, Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, by the Author of the treatise on the Sublime, Demetrius, Plutarch, Dion of Prusa,² Lucian, Galen and Julian. Athenaeus had her poems by heart and though he mentions her very frequently rather defends her than speaks evil of her. Only the impure minds of Ovid and Martial tried to drag her down to their own level.

Evidence of Her Own Works

§ 27 Take again the evidence of her own works. There is not a gross or objectionable word to be found in the whole of her extant fragments. The utmost that can be brought against her is that in her Ode to Aphrodite she speaks of her frantic affection (φιλότης not ἔρως) for another girl and this too in more playful than passionate terms and that in the other great Ode she describes in words of the intensest and almost

¹ Fragm. 117.

² He does, however say that her love poems were not suitable for kings to sing (ii, 24). Plut. (Symop vii 8 2) after censuring the practice of discussing Plato over the wine, says that even when Sappho is recited (δραδεχομένης? sung cf. Athen. xiii, 598) or the Odes of Anacreon, he is constrained to set down his cup αἰδέμενος.

sublime passion the feelings of a lover, not necessarily herself, though she assumes the rôle, at seeing a rival, a man (of no definite individuality, as *ὅστις* shows) sitting beside a girl in a position of privileged intimacy. Opinions must differ, but it is clearly legitimate to regard the poem as objective. Some even suppose it to be part of a wedding song¹. Unfortunately we do not seem to have the poem complete, and Catullus, in his translation, provokingly breaks off at the crucial point to speak of his own affairs. There is nothing whatever coarse or prurient in the stanzas we have². Plutarch, it is true, is more willing to allow a subjective feeling in the poem. He says³ "The words that Sappho utters here are veritably charged with fire, and in her lyric songs she breathes forth *the heat that is in her heart* using the sweet-voiced muses, as Philoxenus says, to heal the anguish of her love."

The Subject-matter of her Poems

§ 28 A general survey of the scanty remnants we have of Sappho's own works cannot fail to throw many interesting sidelights on her character, and it will be in no way amiss to summarize here the results in this connexion. She apparently reproaches her brother Charaxus for having brought disgrace on their family—how could the Sappho of common repute have had the face to blame her brother?—but longs for his safe return and restoration to honour among his fellow-citizens (Fragm. 9), and alludes scornfully to Doricha (10), she has nothing but praises for her other brother Larichus⁴. She is an ardent and loyal friend (33),

¹ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Sappho u. Simonides*, p. 58 f.

² Nothing, for instance, to compare with Shakespeare, *Sonnet* 151.

³ *Amat.* 18.

⁴ Athen. x, 424 E.

and mentions several of her companions with the sincerest and warmest affection, she listens for the sweet footfall of Anactoria when they are parted (8) recalls the joy of their bygone intercourse and the longing for absent friends (6) recording the tender grace of one the beauty of another (14) the lovely hair of a third (12) the cleverness of a fourth (23) the swiftness of foot of yet another (20) The desertion of Atthis whom she had loved from childhood stings her (18 19) and the forgetfulness of others rankles (35) She laughs to scorn the vulgar pretensions of a rich uncultured woman (24) In spite of his flattering compliments 'pure sweetly smiling violet weaving' Alcaeus gets a rebuff for some unworthy suggestion (27) and a proposed marriage between a young man and an older woman is discountenanced (28)¹ It is not at all clear that she is alluding to herself here We have several references to Gorgo and Andromeda her rivals the latter of whom had stolen away Atthis from her (13-17)

§ 29 A characteristic utterance of Sappho's is her avowal of delight in ἀβρασύνη the life of ease refinement and delicacy and its intimate connexion with nobility and goodness (41)² She claims that her nature is gentle and child like (44) but admits that it is susceptible to sudden assaults of love (46 47 49 52) Longing for the absent (45) pain and cares (42) a wavering mind (43) a horror of old age (41, 31 156 A) and a dread of death (64) the joys of sweet sleep (87) are her lot as they are the lot of others

§ 30 Sappho's philosophy of life shows itself in various fragments a dirge befits not the muse-lover's

¹ Cf. Shak. *Twelfth Night* II. 4. 30

² What a surprising confession of truth for a harlot or a τρυφᾶς to make!

house (61), there can be no real beauty apart from goodness (63), we need good counsel in respect to the gods (62), wealth unbalanced by worth is a perilous house-mate (66), there is nothing more dignified in anger than silence (65) Proverbs of course appear gold imperishable by rust (67), stir not the shingle (69), there are who will not have the honey, if it mean with it the bee (69)

§ 31 J A Symonds has descanted in somewhat lyrical terms on the "Lesbian love of physical beauty, and sensibility to radiant scenes of Nature", and certainly there are in our Sappho many touches showing how sensitive her mind was to beauty in all its forms,¹ as seen in Nature and as portrayed in her description of it² The moon, as the minister of Aphrodite, and as "sweet regent of the sky", was a special favourite with Sappho, "rosy-fingered" she calls her (6₉), and we have the full moon putting out the fainter light of the stars (6₁₀, 75), and lighting the dance round an altar (76), shining over the sea (6₁₁), moon-set and the sinking of the Pleiads at the lonely vigil so exquisitely described (71), rosy-armed (41), golden-sandalled Dawn (51), a cool orchard, drowsy with the sound of water through the apple-boughs (72),³ the last rosy apple of autumn on the topmost bough (133), tall flowers on a river's bank (74), the honey-scented clover (6₁₄), a maid picking posies in a meadow (77), dew and dewy meadows (6₁₃, 7₂₁), the weaving of garlands by girls in their bloom (7₁₃, 12₁, 78), the tender sapling of a tree (125),⁴ and the many-eared Night (6₂₀), the many-garlanded earth

¹ Cf Max. Tyr 24

² Cf Demetr, *On Style*, 166

³ "Il mormorio dell acque gelida traverso i rami dei meli," Castiglioni

⁴ Cf Hom, *Od* vi, 163, and Arnold, *Sohrab*, 332



THE HYDRIA AT ATHENS

(73) Then we have the image of doves drooping their wings in the chill of death (79) the cicala charming the summer heat with his song (80) the dazzling sheen of the hyacinth (134) and its fragrant bloom trod in the dust by clumsy shepherds (134)¹ the lovely heaven haunting swallow (53) the nightingale the angel of the spring (84) We have also fragments of what seems to have been the description of a storm at sea (85)

§ 32 Sappho's extant verses contain references to Aphrodite and Adonis Eros and Peitho to Hera Hermes and Apollo to Leto Leda and Selene to Kalliope the Muses and Graces to Prometheus and Theseus and Andromeda and Jason and Tithonus.

§ 33 A main part of her work is taken up with epithalamia the wedding songs for which she was famous To these probably belong the exquisite invocation to Hesperus so inadequately rendered by Byron (130) the audacious dialogue between a bride and her virginity (135) the contrast between the sweet blushing apple out of reach and the purple hyacinth trodden under foot by the passer by (133 134) the jests at the bridegroom and the doorkeeper of the bridal chamber (136 138) and the lately recovered spirited fragment describing the home-coming of Hector and Andromache

Demetrius² says that the whole tissue of Sappho's poesy consisted of such things as the Gardens of the Nymphs wedding-songs and love episodes and that she used words that were sweet and beautiful when she sang of love and the spring and the halcyon and that the texture of her poetry was woven with every melodious word and where no word was forthcoming she coined one Being a true woman as Athenaeus and Galen

¹ Ibid. 623

On Style § 162, 166

also have occasion to remark of her, she has allusions to dress and ornaments, garlands and kerchiefs and rings, unguents and ointments, of myrrh, cassia, and frankincense, and favourite words with her are such as express grace, tenderness, and delicacy¹ Gold and the rose appear in many a compound Meleager aptly compares her poems to roses, βαῖα μὲν ἀλλὰ ῥόδα²

§ 34 One last point must be mentioned, as evidenced by Sappho's fragments, namely, her confident expectation of the immortality of her work The Muses had given her of their choicest gifts, and her lot was one with theirs (56, 57) Though she does not claim to touch the stars in her pride, yet she affirms that after-ages will remember her (25, 58, 59) Like Horace, and Ovid, and Shakespeare, she is fain to cry, *Non omnis moriar*³

Verdict in Sappho's Favour

§ 35 So much for the first-hand evidence of Sappho's own words There is nothing here to cause uneasiness to lovers of Sappho, nothing that has a nasty flavour, no lilies that fester like weeds All is stimulating and exhilarating, yet innocent, as her native Lesbian wine, as little malice,⁴ as may be looked for in a woman,

¹ ἄβρος, ἄπαλος, βράδινος, μάλακος, κ τ λ

² Few, that is, in his *Garland*, but those particular epigrams (three) are certainly no roses nor (perhaps) by Sappho The Proem to Meleager's *Garland* (Anth Pal iv, 1) begins —

Many a lily here of Anvte,

And many an amaryllis tall

Is twined of Moero, but, Sappho, of thee

Few flowers, yet they are roses all

³ Cf Pnytus of Byzantium's Epigram (Anth Pal vii, 16, Edm, p 167)

Sappho's dumb dust and name her tomb contains,

But all immortal are her magic strains

⁴ Reinach, *Acad des Inscript*, Compt Rendus, 1911, p 729 Elle était une petite femme brune vive, de belle humeur, et de franc parler, tressaillant à toutes les émotions de la nature et du cœur, malicieuse avec grâce, amante avec fougue, de plus poétesse inspirée, musicienne accomplie et novatrice

much vivacity and some humour the whole outlook normal and human sublimated though it be by the fires of imagination and passion but sane always sane not at all as Swinburne has so superficially and erroneously described her—

Love's priestess mad with pain and joy of song

Song's priestess mad with joy and pain of love

which may be characterized as mere poetical flamboyance.

So we may here put away once for all with a clear conscience as Welcker¹ Wilamowitz² Tennyson and all other capable judges have done the hateful suspicions that have clung to and disfigured the glorious image of pure sweetly-smiling violet-crowned Sappho and take her to our hearts who have already taken her to our minds as an embodiment not only of all that is artistically great in mental achievement but also of all that is womanly and lovable in human character We can say of her as Nossis said of Callo—³

Χαίρετω σὺ τὰ γὰρ μέγιστον εἶχει βίωτας

and echo a now fairer tribute from Swinburne

I Sappho shall be one with all high things for ever

Sappho's Art

§ 36 Now that we have dealt succinctly but faithfully with Sappho's life and character something must necessarily be said of her art about which there has from the first been no dissentient voice Let us listen to one or two ancient testimonies in corroboration of this The author of the treatise *On the Sublime* in preserving for us to our eternal benefit the great Ode

¹ F. G. Welcker *Sappho von einem herrschenden Vorurtheil befreit* 1816

² *Sappho und Simonides* 1913 pp. 15-78

³ Anth. Pal. ix, 605

Φαίνεται μοι κῆνος,¹ adds to our obligation by sub-joining this illuminating criticism ²

“ Since in all things there are latent by nature certain elements which co-exist with their substance, it is a necessary result that we should find a source of sublimity in the selection in every case of the most significant constituents of a thing and in the power, by combining them one with another, of making them as it were into one living whole The reader or hearer is attracted in the one case by the choice of points taken, and in the other by their aggregation

“ For instance, Sappho everywhere takes the emotions incident to the frenzy of love from the signs that attend it, and from the actual reality But wherein does she show her genius? In her wonderful power of both choosing and uniting the intensest and most striking features of passion ”

After transcribing the poem, the writer goes on — “ Do you not marvel how for one and the same purpose the writer enlists, as though they were outside of her and disconnected, soul, body, hearing, tongue, eyes, colour? and how by contraries she is at the same time cold as ice and hot as fire, in her right mind and out of her senses, terrified and at the point of death? So that it might seem that not one passion only moves her but a concourse of passions All such things are common with lovers, but it is the choice of the salient features and their combination into one that has effected such perfection ”

This is an admirable piece of analysis, showing us with brief distinctness, wherein consists the sublimity of Sappho in her realistic and artistic delineation of passion

¹ Fragg 14

² Longinus, *De Sublimitate*, 10

§ 37 Beside this let us set the critical remarks of the Halicarnassian grammarian Dionysius on the companion Ode to Aphrodite¹ concerned as they are more with the verbal style. Speaking of the smooth and florescent style (γλαφυρά καὶ ανθηρά σύνθεσις)² he describes its characteristics and names as its chief exponents Hesiod among epic writers and among lyrists Sappho followed by Anacreon and Simonides but of tragedians only Euripides and of orators Isocrates. He then goes on

Of lyrical poets Sappho seems to me to have achieved this style in the greatest perfection and I will begin with this example from her

After transcribing the whole ode, he proceeds

The beauty and charm of this passage lie in the woven tissue of the words and the smoothness of their adjustment. For the words are set side by side and are woven into one piece as by a sort of relationship and natural affinity of the letters. Throughout almost the entire Ode the vowels which ordinarily precede or follow them are fitted to the mutes or semi vowels. There are very few instances of the clash of semi vowels with semi vowels or of vowels with one another such as jar on the ear. Looking through the whole ode among so many nouns and verbs and other parts of speech I have found but five or six of the conjunction of such semi vowels as are naturally unfitted to coalesce. Nor do I find that these interfere to any great extent with the beauty of the diction. juxtaposition of vowels occurring actually in the lines I find to be the same in number or even fewer but those which occur between

¹ Fragm. 3.

² Comp 23 This phrase is a difficult one to render γλαφυρά means "easy" "smooth" as opposed to "abrupt" "harsh" "obscure" ανθηρά does not mean "flowery" or "florid" but rather "adorned" or "rich" or "picturesque"

the lines are somewhat more numerous. Naturally, then, the piece moves smoothly and gently, since the structure of the words does not disturb the waves of the sound "

These ancient criticisms are useful to us in many ways, as the considered judgment of men who were experienced critics familiar with the Greek language and with Sappho's poems

§ 38 Dionysius makes very similar comments in another passage,¹ saying

"The easy (γλαφυρά) and picturesque (θεατρική)² style, which chooses elegance before sublimity, comes next. It always picks out the smoothest and softest words, aiming at euphony and melody and the sweetness that is their outcome. Then it does not go about to set these down just as they come, or to unite them at haphazard, the one with the other, but first determines which placed by which will be able to render the result most musical, and considers according to what arrangement they must be taken to make the collocation of the words more pleasing, and so tries to form a more connected whole, taking especial care that the words shall unite and coalesce together, and the combined rhythm of all be perfectly smooth "

Here again, as examples of this style, he instances Hesiod, and also Anacreon

§ 39 Plutarch,³ who more than once mentions Sappho's songs and their effect upon listeners, e.g. "Do you not see what a charm there is in Sappho's songs, and how they delight and tickle the ears of the hearers ? " evidently was a great admirer of hers. As he

¹ *Demosth* 40

² Lit. "scenic", it corresponds to ἀνθηρά above. So "ornate" or "decorative"

³ *Pyth Or* 6

was one of the most moral men of his age this fact tells greatly in favour of Sappho

Demetrius¹ while treating of the graces (χάριτες) of Sappho's style speaks of the ἐπιφώνημα or phrase of embellishment (Fragm 134) the hyperbole (Fragm 139) repetition or reduplication of a word or phrase (Fragm 35 129) metaphor (Fragm 80) comparison or simile and amended simile (Fragm 91 92) He also mentions her humour but considers it as expressed here unsuitable for lyric poetry (Fragm 138) Assonance and alliteration are frequent in the fragments and there is even a trace of rhyme² Hermogenes on *Sweetness of style*³ quoting the picture of *dolce far niente* in an apple orchard (Fragm 72) says that all pleasures that are not disgraceful can be described simply as for instance the beauty of a spot the variety of flora the distinctive characteristics of a river Such things give pleasure to the eye when seen and to the ear when described

§ 40 Lucian in painting an ideal portrait of wisdom and wit⁴ suggests combining the experience the ability and the intellect of Aspasia the greatness of mind of Theano (the Pythagorean) who was famed for virtue and wisdom the intelligence and good judgment of Diotima and of Sappho τὸ γλαφυρόν τῆς προαιρέσεως a very difficult phrase to interpret It seems to refer to the principles or ideals of her art the smooth and easy grace of the execution of her poetic design and defies a concise translation Mr Edmonds's refinement of character can hardly be justified Lucian is

¹ *Comp* §§ 106-67

e.g. 4, (at end of every word) 3₂₂ (δ) 7₂₀ (β) 52 (σ) 69 (μ) 77 () and for rhyme ? 129₂

Rhet. Graec. ed Waks, iii, 315

⁴ *Imagg* 18.

here, as in the other instances, thinking of mental qualities. The same author in his *Amores*¹ couples Sappho with Theano and Aspasia again, adding to the trio Telesilla, the amazon poetess of Argos.

§ 41 These few extracts, to which may be added the various citations from ancient authors introducing some of the fragments below, will show how Sappho's work impressed the world. We may ask how does it appeal to us? The poet Gray, writing in 1767, says "Extreme conciseness of expression, yet pure, perspicuous, and musical, is one of the grand beauties of lyric poetry. This (he adds) I could never attain." These are precisely the beauties which Sappho attained in an exceptional degree. In fact, we could not use better epithets to describe her style. To speak of her "verbal economy" has almost become a commonplace. She had in an eminent degree the Greek gift of restraint and literary tact and taste, yet she combined this avoidance of excess with an intensity of thought and a vividness of expression not easily to be matched. There was an absolute personal sincerity in her work and, in the treatment of her theme, the vehement virility of a man combined with the choice daintiness of a woman. Added to the dignified passion and sympathetic sensitiveness of the Aeolian temperament was perhaps something of Oriental fervour and imagination. With her, thought and expression go hand in hand in a wonderful way, and as Sappho was poet and musician too, and a dancer to boot, she was able to combine the melody and sweetness of music with the austere harmonies of beautiful words and the rhythms of the dance, of all which she had such complete mastery, into an exquisite whole, to the fullest

appreciation of which we have lost one essential key the knowledge of Sappho's musical measures. Greek music unlike modern did not use the words of lyrics as a mere vocal vehicle for its own expression but coalesced and identified itself with the words which could not nor were intended to, utter their true meaning without it.

§ 42 Sappho's style was easy graceful pointed direct and simple—simple above all—and her technique was perfect. She differed from Alcaeus in that his art was of a grander broader and more massive type. The subtle harmonies of Sappho were not so much at home in the loud notes of politics and war that appealed so much to her contemporary. Horace has drawn the contrast in a well known passage¹ between the plaintive note of Sappho (suited to the Mixolydian mode which she is said to have invented and the *pectus* which she brought into use) and the fuller tone of Alcaeus with his *dura navis dura fugae mala dura belli* and again in his *Alcaei minaces Camenae* and the *commixti calores Aeolæ fidibus puellæ*. Ovid² makes her admit that the lyre of Alcaeus *grandius sonat*. But though the partiality of Horace is apparently against us we should not hesitate a moment if the choice were ours to recover the lost poems of Sappho rather than those of Alcaeus³. They both unlocked their hearts in their lyrics and we can imagine many another Alcaeus but there has been only one Sappho as there has been but one Joan of Arc. In either case Nature broke the die which she had made.

¹ *Odes* ii 13 27 iv 9 8 and 11

Heroid. xv 30

In the inventory of the Temple of Apollo in Delos M. Homolle has discovered an item, "a three-cornered case containing books of Alcaeus."

What was Sappho Like?

§ 43 It remains to say what can be said as to Sappho's personal appearance. We should naturally wish and suppose her to have been rather over than under the general high level of Greek beauty, and our hearts go with Swinburne when he writes of—

The small dark body's Lesbian loveliness
That held the fire eternal

It therefore comes somewhat as a shock to us, when we find that ancient tradition will have none of this. A scrap of Sappho's biography recently discovered in Egypt¹ is quite uncompromising in the matter, and records "In appearance she seems to have been quite insignificant and unusually plain, being of a dusky complexion and small stature." Maximus Tyrius,² a philosopher of the second century A.D., remarks that she was called *καλῇ* because of her poetry, though in person she was small and dark. Earlier is Ovid's evidence, if he wrote the *Epistle to Phaon*, for he makes her speak of herself as small and short and dark.³ A mediæval commentator on Lucian⁴ is quite as emphatic with his "As to her body Sappho was extremely ill-favoured, being small and dark in appearance, and for all the world like a nightingale enfolding a little body with misshapen wings." All these statements evidently look back to a common source, which was perhaps the above-mentioned treatise of Chamaeleon, who was Aristotle's disciple and a man of considerable learning.

¹ Oxyr. Pap. xv, 1800

² 24, 7, *μικρὰν οὖσαν καὶ μέλαιναν*, cf. for the expression Anth. Pal. v, 121 (Philodemus), *μικκὴ καὶ μελανεῦσα*

³ *Heroid* xv, 33, 35, 37—*corpore parva, brevis, non candida*

⁴ *Imagg* 18. The scholion may derive ultimately from Didymus or perhaps from Arethas

But the only statement of his relating to Sappho which has survived lends support to so inaccurate a suggestion that we cannot place much reliance upon any other details emanating from him. Athenaeus tells us that Chamaeleon in his book says that some writers asserted that Anacreon wrote a poem to her, which Sappho answered in verse¹. But the latter poem as Athenaeus remarks is obviously not by Sappho. Nor was Anacreon's poem addressed to her.

§ 44 We are in fact without any means of judging of the value of the tradition which makes Sappho plain even to ugliness. Perhaps the only thing in its favour is that it is contrary to our preconceived notions and not likely therefore to have been invented. But this may have been a conception of Sappho's outward semblance to which the comic poets gave currency. The undoubted ugliness of Socrates must have been a valuable asset to the comic drama. But it is necessary to reckon with the possibility that Sappho was not of pure Greek descent. Lesbos was at various times overrun with settlers from different races of the Asiatic mainland. Sappho's father had a name Shamandronymus which recalls associations with the Troad, a district at one time in the sphere of Lesbian influence. Our own Columban² ranks her among Troiugeneæ and Solinus names her with Asiatic writers which in itself the near proximity of Lesbos to the Asiatic coast would hardly seem to warrant.

§ 45 However that may be if Sappho was like her brother Larichus she must have been at least of comely appearance as the office which he held was only open to

¹ These are given below p. 181. See Athen. xiii 599 C. Bergk, Sappho, 26. Anacr. 14.

² Epistle ad Fedolium, v 110.

well-born youths who were also εὐπρεπεῖς¹ Charaxus, too, in Posidippus's epigram² is called χαρίεις But even if Sappho lacked the beauty of feature which we see so idealized in the best Greek statuary, yet she must have had compensating charm, and she certainly had abundance of wit Antipater, when he refers to her as the "glory of Lesbian women with lovely hair," may be using merely a stock epithet with no personal relevance, but we should naturally take it that he intended Sappho to share in that characteristic Alcaeus has immortalized her with the beautiful epithet μελλιχόμειδε, "gently-smiling" We can hardly doubt but that her voice was sweet, as in a singer of her own songs and a teacher of the art it should needs have been, and she is compared to a nightingale,³ and in an epigram by Antipater of Sidon called μελίφωνος⁴ As a dancer too, she would naturally have shapely feet, and merit the distinctive epithet ποικιλοσάμβalos which Anacreon uses in a poem wrongly supposed to refer to Sappho⁵

The epithet καλή merits a few words We have seen above that Maximus⁶ interprets it to mean that her poetry was beautiful Plato⁷ couples Σαπφὴ ἡ καλή with Ἀνακρέων ὁ σοφός, but he calls Sappho too σοφή Plutarch⁸ also calls her καλή in connexion with the Φαίνεται μοι κῆνος Ode Maximus simply repeats Plato over again Athenaeus⁹ echoes the epithet,

¹ Eustath ad Hom, *Il* xx, 234 (Schol Victor)

² See p 3

³ Schol Lucian, *Imagg* 18, and Athen xiii, 598 (from Hermesianax)

⁴ Anth Pal ix, 66 See p 45

⁵ Bergk, *Anacr* 14

⁶ 24, 7, διὰ τὴν ὥραν τῶν μελῶν

⁷ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 235b, Aelian, *V H* xii, 19

⁸ *Amat* 763a

⁹ Athen x, 424 C

and Julian ¹ twice uses it Themistius contrasts Σαπφω ἡ καλὴ with Πίνδαρος ὁ γενναῖος Obviously we get nothing for our purpose from this epithet

Some Testimonies to Sappho

§ 46 So much for the literary tradition In concluding this review of the total materials which remain to us for forming a conception of Sappho's life and character and before we go on to inquire whether any representation of her has come down to us it will be enough to quote Strabo's ² mention of her as θαυμαστόν πρῆγμα a veritable portent whom no woman of recorded times had in her art even approached Demetrius calls her θεῖά divine and she was universally acclaimed as the tenth Muse as in Plato's epigram ³ above and in this

Mnemosyné was struck with amaze when she heard
honey voiced

Sappho for fear that a tenth Muse had appeared
among men ⁴

and this—

Sister elect of Pieria's Muses Lesbian Sappho
Ninth of the lyric poets am I but tenth of the Muses ⁵
and this anonymous epigram ⁶

From Thebes clanged Pindar's eagle cry delight
Breathed from the honey tongued Simonides
Stesichorus Ibycus as flame were bright
Sweet Alcman dainty voiced Bacchylides

¹ *Epist.* 19 and 30
xiii, 617

² See above, p. 18
Anth. Pal. ix, 66 (Antipater of Sidon)

³ *Ammonius, Epigr.* 32.

⁴ Anth. Pal. ix, 371 εἰς τοὺς δέκα Λαμικῶς

Charm by Anacreon walked , with subtle grace
 Alcaeus chanted to his Lesbian lyre ,
 Sappho of mortals was not ninth, her place
 The tenth among the lovely Muses' quire

Representations of Sappho, inscribed with her name

§ 47 The earliest representations, or supposed representations, of Sappho cannot be dated earlier than 70 to 100 years after her death, which we may conjecture to have taken place about 550 B C. She was not born before 620, and had she lived to any great age she would have been quoted among the *Μακρόβιοι* of Phlegon or Lucian. Sappho is only represented by name on half a dozen red-figured vases of the fifth century B C., none being earlier than 480 B C, and on late imperial Roman coins of the second and third centuries A D. Her name also appears on a gem (from the Marlborough Collection),¹ but King pronounces the inscription to be a forgery,² and on an incised stone² from the Abbé Gravelle Collection, where a female figure is shown playing on a lyre and leaning against a pillar on which the name Σαπφώ is inscribed.³ Besides these, one bust bears the inscription ΣΑΠΦΩ ΕΡΕΣΙΑ but it is not authentic.⁴

Vase Paintings

§ 48 The earliest coinage of Lesbos, with female heads on the obverse, and the red-figured Athenian vases on which Sappho is named, are approximately of the same period, round about the middle of the fifth

¹ See Reinach, *Pierres Gravées*, p. 113. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, p. 236 and plate lxi, 7.

² See § 72.

³ Reinach *Pierres Gravées*, pl. lxxxi.

⁴ For illustration of this see Wolf's Sappho (Frontispiece).

century B.C. Of these two the vase figures are of no use to us in recovering the features of Sappho. They are purely conventional and depict scenes of social life among women: musical meetings and such like, or in some cases have a symbolical meaning.¹ They tell us nothing more than the current conception of Sappho. Their intention is not, as a rule, to depict her,² so much as to use her name to add to their pictures. They are not even of much help towards realizing the customs or the costumes of the previous century or a distant island. However such as they are they merit description. They are six in all —

(1) The earliest of these, dating from early in the fifth century, is the Dzialinsky Vase,³ a kalpis from Athens. It is inscribed $\Theta\varsigma\Lambda\Theta\Omega$ and shows her walking alone with a lyre of seven strings in her left hand and a plectrum in the right, evidently playing. She is dressed in a chiton with sleeves and over it a flowered himation thrown back from the right shoulder. The hair is confined in a *sakkos* or cloth wrapping which lets a tuft of hair escape at the back, as we see on some of the coins hereafter to be mentioned, while the rest forms a ball on the nape of the neck. A fold of the *sakkos* seems to enclose two little side-locks that fall on the cheek. She wears a necklace and apparently ear-rings, in this also resembling the early coins. The eye is represented in the archaic flat style.

(2) Closely following this in date is the magnificent crater from Agrigentum, now at Munich, on which are represented, with their names, Alcaeus and Sappho ($\varsigma\Lambda\Phi\Omega$). Between the figures runs perpendicularly

¹ As with the *kylix* vase.

This is not true, of course, of the Alcaeus vase.

² Of the period when the black figured vases were giving way to the red figured ones.

the name or words *Dama kalos* ¹ Alcaeus is seen on the left standing with his feet together, holding a lyre of seven strings in his left and a plectrum in his right hand. His head is bowed, and notes (or words) are apparently issuing from his lips. He seems somewhat abashed before Sappho, who also carries a similar lyre and plectrum, but her lyre hangs down at a slope, and she wears a somewhat severe expression. She is evidently turning away from Alcaeus and preparing to move off. Alcaeus is bearded and the ends of his hair fall down in curls over his cheek and neck, the rest being confined, except for a tuft over the forehead, by a single band, the extremities of which hang down in two tassels over the nape of the neck. He is dressed in a brodered chiton and a himation thrown back from the right shoulder. Sappho is dressed in a chiton and peplos, which is withdrawn from her right arm. She wears a necklace and apparently ear-rings. Her hair is bound by a single band, and she wears a wreath of ivy leaves. Two locks hang down over her breast on the right side and one on the left, and a plait of hair and long locks reaching below her knees hang down her back. The hair on her forehead escaping from the band forms a fringe.

This picture has generally been taken—and surely with reason—to depict the incident recorded in *Fragm. 27*, where Alcaeus is supposed to have made some unworthy proposal to Sappho, which she rejects with a tactful rebuke. If this is so, the vase is of extraordinary interest to us. If we could think of Alcaeus and Sappho as being exiled together to Sicily, we might by a flight of fancy regard the incident as having occurred in Sicily, and so have come to be portrayed on a vase at Agrigentum.

On another side of the vase appear two similar figures,

¹ Cf. *CIG* 7759



the man on the left wreathed with ivy bearded and with locks of hair falling down his back holding up a cantharus in his right hand with a washbasin to the smiling figure opposite to him who is also wreathed with ivy and wears her hair in exactly the same way as in the first picture. She carries in her right hand a little jug or oinochoë held out towards the male figure corresponding to his cantharus. Their dress is similar to that of the other two figures. Each carries a branch of ivy in the left hand. The word *καλὸς* issues from the lips of each. There does not seem any imperative reason¹ why these figures should not be Alcaeus and Sappho again celebrating a reconciliation over the wine-cup.

(3) Dating a little later and about the middle of the century is the next vase painting from the Middleton Collection in Paris. It is the well known and enigmatical *ῥάλας* vase. It shows Sappho and in Eros as Comparetti suggests the Love of Sappho personified. She is seated on a three-legged stool without a back dressed in a long chiton and short upper garment her feet on a footstool. She holds in her left hand a scroll of her poems and her right rests on the edge of the stool. Her hair is bound with crossing bands as we shall see it in the Sappho busts some hair escaping over the forehead and a spiral curl by the ear. She wears a necklace and bracelets. She is gazing intently at her scroll while a nude winged Eros crowned with a garland coming in haste offers her a wreath. Over the sitting figure's head is ΣΑΠΦΩ and over Eros outstretched arm the word ΤΑΛΛΑΣ. It is most probable that this cryptic word refers not to the Phaon fable which was probably not invented then but to the bitter-sweet² consequences of that passion.

¹ The cantharus is supposed to show that Dionysos is depicted.

² *Fragm.* 18, 46 47

of love which Sappho so certainly experienced and so feelingly portrayed

(4) A little later still is the Michaels lecythus in Berlin, carrying us a stage further in the idealization of Sappho ¹ It represents a group of ten major and three minor figures with a bird singing and a dappled fawn In the centre sits Thamyras, the fabled Thracian bard who challenged the Muses for supremacy in song, with a gorgeous lyre of twelve strings in his left hand and a plectrum in his right He is dressed in a splendid embroidered spangled and decorated coat His cloak is apparently thrown off and he is sitting upon it (no chair being shown here or elsewhere in the picture) His legs are bare and he wears buskins His curled hair is wreathed with bay Over him is the name OAMYPHE On the upper part of the picture, parallel with Thamyras on his left, are two figures, one Apollo, as the name above him shows, wreathed with bay and holding a branch of bay upright between his left hand and his body He has his back turned to Thamyras, and seems to take little interest in the proceedings Back to back with him is a female figure, holding and gazing, as she walks forward, at what looks like a necklace depending from her left to her right hand, but the component parts, consisting of little discs, are not threaded together and seem to be falling from the one hand to the other Her head-dress is peculiar, and it is not clear whether she wears a stephané or a broad stiff band over her forehead Her part in the scene is not obvious Beyond Thamyras, on his right, is a complicated group of figures On the upper line is Aphrodite sitting with Eros winged on her right shoulder and looking up at him She

¹ So Comparetti

wears a jewelled stephané and a necklace and is dressed in a close-fitting chiton down to her feet. Over her lap and leaning on it bends a girl in a similar chiton with necklace and bracelets her hair tied simply at the back leaving a knot of hair beyond the band. She is stretching her right hand towards a bird with open beak released by a winged boy. The boy's right hand rests on the knee of a woman who sits below Aphrodite with her left arm round another (wingless) boy. He stands below her with his right foot on her chair (the chairs are not represented). To the right of Aphrodite's head and a little above the girl bending over her is the inscription ΣΑΟ (? for ΣΑΘ) which must refer to the lower figure and not to the one we have called Aphrodite. The figure below which is gazing at Thamyras as Sappho also seems to be has a stephané and is most probably Peritho. The winged boy is supposed to be Himeros and the other boy Pothos. The bird would be a nightingale as connected in legend with Thamyras and also a designation of Sappho. To the right of Aphrodite is a standing figure wearing a stephané with a lyre and plectrum raised as if to strike the lyre. She will be perhaps a Muse. Before her is a girl sitting with a roll in her left hand and her right hand raised towards her mouth. She and the Muse above are looking at Thamyras. Below and to the left of Thamyras is another similar girl with necklace and ear rings sitting a lyre lying idle in her right hand at her side with a dappled fawn beyond it and looking away from her. Lastly there is a similar girl below and beyond Apollo sitting with a lyre in her left hand but no plectrum. She too gazes at Thamyras. The whole represents a musical display of some kind but Sappho's part in it or that of her three girl companions is not so clear as

might be wished Her affectionate relations with Aphrodite is the only point of interest plainly discernible The whole picture is a lovely composition, and the figures and their features, though conventional, more than usually attractive

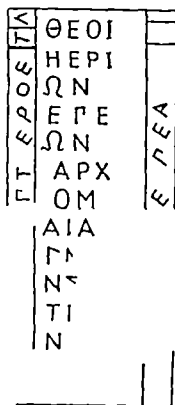
(5) Late in the fifth century is the probable date of the painting on the three-handled damaged hydria at Athens¹ It represents Sappho seated reading from a roll on which the words are still to some extent decipherable Behind her stands a girl holding a wreath of ivy leaves over her head. Inscribed above her is the name Νικopolis, though the η seems more like an ϵ and the κ more like μ The girl standing in front of the figure of Sappho holds a six-stringed lyre out towards her, between which and Sappho's head is inscribed the word $\Sigma\alpha\phi\phi\omega\varsigma$, equivalent we may suppose to $\Sigma\alpha\phi\phi\omega\upsilon\varsigma$, signifying that the lyre is Sappho's² Over this girl's head and arm is the name Καλλίς Behind her is another girl unnamed, with her left hand on Kallis's shoulder The attitude of Sappho is very similar to that of a girl reading from a scroll on a gem in the British Museum³ The hair of all the girls is fastened with bands and has a general resemblance to the coiffure of the Alban bust They are dressed in chiton and himation, the latter, except in the case of the lyre-holder partly thrown off The interest of this picture centres in the words on the scroll The roll which Sappho is holding in both hands is only unrolled as far as the first column As the appearance of the part still unrolled, held by the right hand, suggests, there is much more to be unrolled than has been already opened

¹ See p 76

² Edmonds, *Glass Quart*, Jan 1922, takes the genitive to mean the picture is that "of Sappho"

³ See below

The two ends that curl over as held by Sappho have written upon them perpendicularly on the left margin ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ (probably though the last three letters are doubtful) Some prefer to read *πτερά ἐχει* and certainly the fifth letter seems angular¹ for an O and the N is not visible owing to horizontal lines drawn by the painter to mark the outside of the roll On the right hand curled-over margin the word ΕΠΕΑ is clear The two words obviously give the title of the roll After *ἔπει* there is room for a letter or two and slight traces of what may be letters From the illustration it will be seen that Sappho's hands cover a portion of the words inscribed on the roll It is clear from certain indications that the letters were painted in after the hands were drawn



¹ In the original it is more like a delta with the right limb of the triangle not joined.

As the reproduction here given shows, the words on the inner face of the roll read, *θεοι, ηεριων επεων αρχομαι, αλλ' ζαναιτικων*. The doubtful and difficult letters are in line nine, the second letter of which may be a λ, but the slope of the down stroke is more pronounced than in the letter before it. In line ten the remains of the second letter seem rather to point to a Σ than an Α, which would have to be very much tilted to correspond to the traces that remain. The main objection to the reading *αναιτίων* is that it involves letters in lines 9, 10 and 11 being covered by the hand. As they were not all painted in, this is possible.¹ Mr Edmonds reads *δνάτων*,² but the Ο is more than doubtful, and in the eleventh line the straight line after the Τ cannot be twisted into an Ω. Mr Edmonds has dealt very fully with the whole of this interesting inscription in his article in the *Classical Quarterly* mentioned above, to which we cannot do better than refer our readers. He thinks we may have here genuine words of Sappho. But Pauly-Wissowa in the *Real-Encyklopädie* are much more doubtful.

(6) A three-handled red-figured hydria, of which the whereabouts is now unknown. It was found in Attica in 1880, and passed into private hands. Mylonas thus describes it.³ Five women appear on the front face, four of whom are completely preserved, but of the fifth, the furthest on the left, only the feet. On the right under the handle of the hydria sits a woman dressed in a fine chiton and over it a himation, playing the

¹ But we are not at liberty, Mr Edmonds says, to suppose that letters are hidden under the fingers of the hand which holds the roll.

² "Good to hear." Cf. a gem illustrated in Jac. Gronovius, *Gemmae et Sculpturae antiquae*, where a woman with a lyre is seen leaning on a pillar, behind which are the words *δνήσας ἔποισι* (?)

³ Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique, iv, 373 (1880), in *Mélanges Archéologiques*. The vessel was badly damaged when found.

double flute Her seat (as in the *Thamyras* vase) is not shown In front of her fixed high up on the wall is an object of an indefinite character the upper part being like a Phrygian flute (*ελυμος*) and the lower like a *taenia* Next as an inscription tells us comes Sappho dressed similarly except that her himation is adorned with broad borders. She is sitting and playing on the tortoiseshell lyre. Above her head appears the inscription ΣΑΓΦΩ (= Σαπφω in the Boeotian dialect says Mylonas)¹ Opposite her is a woman wearing a sleeveless fringed chiton with a border and a double cloak the left foot resting on a raised floor which is not shown (as was also the case in the *Thamyras* vase) Her hand is gracefully pointed towards her mouth (compare again with this the same vase) as she listens attentively to Sappho playing Behind her stands another woman in a long chiton and cloak playing on a *sambuca*² It is evident that a musical entertainment or contest is in progress

It is unfortunate that Mylonas did not give us a much more detailed description of the figures as the vase cannot be traced There is besides the above apparently a red figured lekythus in private hands in Austria inscribed ΣΑΓΦΩ which would date like the others from the fifth century³

Paintings of Sappho

§ 49 Before passing on to the coins it may be mentioned that only one picture of Sappho is recorded by ancient writers It was by a certain Leon⁴ of whom

¹ Others take it as = Σαπφως but Edmonds as Σαπφω.

A Syrian musical instrument with a very shrill tone

See Katalog d. Wiener Arch. Ausstellung 1893 p. 79 n. 1028.

⁴ Pliny *N.H.* xxxv. 35 The word *psalterium*, which is sometimes taken to agree with *Sappho* probably belongs to the sentence before.

the only fact known is that he painted this picture
This picture (or possibly another one) is the subject
of an epigram by Damocharis about A D 400¹

Quick Nature gave thee, Painter, skill to draw
The Muse of Mitylene without flaw
Her eyes are wells of brightness that do show
How her swift fancies with deft thoughts o'erflow
Her skin by nature smooth, by art undressed,
Makes her simplicity more manifest
Her face's blended thought and mirth declare
That Cypris and the Muse are mingled there

Sappho Represented on Coins

§ 50 We will now pass on to the evidence of coins
(with which, to some extent, the busts must be associated)
These, as far as they are concerned with Sappho, belong
to two distinct epochs, the first covering the 250 years
between 500 and 250 B C , and the second, the hundred
years between 150 and 250 A D In the first period
we have three different coin-issues to deal with among
the early coins of Lesbos, Mitylene, and Eresus These
are (a) coins of about 500 B C or a little later, made
of a debased metal, and called *billon* , (b) coins struck
in electrum, an alloy of gold and silver Though quite
small (sixths), they are of singularly beautiful work-
manship They date from about 450 to 350 B C ,²
lastly, (c) small bronze coins issued during the next
hundred years under Alexander and his successors
The second and later issues, with which we are here
concerned, were of imperial bronze coins of Mitylene
and Eresus, under Antoninus Pius, Commodus, Julia
Domna, and Gallienus

¹ Anth Pal xvi, 310 (Planudean Anthology)

² And so synchronize with the earlier busts

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AUTONOMOUS ELECTRUM COINS OF LESBOS
(440-350 B.C.)

§ 51 There would appear to be no silver coins bearing the head of Sappho. Yet Wolf on the frontispiece of his edition of Sappho gives illustrations of two¹. The first is a coin of largish size with a female head to r the hair being entirely hidden in a loose coil². The reverse has a polypus with ΜΥΤΙΑ above it. The second has on the obverse a pleasing female head to right with a simple wreath as fillet and some locks hanging down the back. This is not like a Sappho head. The reverse has the legend ΣΑΠΦΩ ΛΕΣΒΙΣ and shows her playing the lyre as she walks and apparently singing. She wears a chiton and her upper garment is bellied like a sail behind her by the wind³. Her hair is arranged in the same way as that of the head on the obverse.

§ 52 We are told by those whose judgment is entitled to every respect that there is no instance known of the portrait of any historical character on coins before the time of Alexander and consequently that there can be no question of Sappho's head being so represented on the early coinage of Lesbos. But some considerations would appear to make it not impossible however improbable that Sappho may have formed an exception to this rule. It is not inconceivable that there may have been an early portrait statue of Sappho from which a mint artist might have borrowed certain features and we know that on a coin of Himera struck before its name was changed from Therma to Himera and therefore not long after its foundation in 648 is a representation of Stesichorus Sappho's contemporary

¹ See Bährner *Zeits f Numismat* ix, pt. ii 1881 p. 127. No doubt these two coins are considered forgeries.

For similar examples see below p. 65.

² Cf. the coin of Syracuse mentioned § 58.

evidently taken from a statue¹ Besides, Sappho may be called an exceptional case She was regarded in early times (exactly how early is not known) as the tenth Muse, which gave her a semi-divine character This is brought out in the Epigram of Dioscorides²—

Thou of Æolian Eresus the Muse,
 Sweet pillow for all youthful loves to use,
 Sappho with whom each Muse her honour shares
 On Helicon, for thine is breath like theirs,—
 Either with thee, his lifted torch in hand,
 Hymen beside the nuptial couch doth stand,
 Or Cinyras' son thou mournest, Cypris' love,
 Looking upon the Blest One's holy grove
 Hail, Queen, as gods are hailed, or near or far,
 For daughters of the Gods thy songs still are

She was looked upon as Aphrodite's high-priestess, her minister and favourite, and it is as natural, as it is easy, to suppose that, if her features were known even for fifty years after her death, her head might have been taken, perhaps in an idealized form, to stand for Aphrodite,³ or the Muse of Poetry There was constant intercourse with Egypt even in Sappho's time, and the art of portrait sculpture had been known in Egypt for centuries We should rather expect her to be honoured from the first with some statue or representation on the coinage At all events we know that later she was so honoured Aristotle⁴ implies that she received some such tribute from her fellow-citizens, and Pollux, in

¹ See Burchner, *Zeits f Numism* ix, pt ii, p 111.

² Anth Pal vii, 407, see below, p 184

³ The possibility of a mortal head being utilized in any form for a divine one is stoutly denied by some

⁴ *Rhet* 1398b

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BRONZE COINS OF MITYLENE
(350-250 B.C.)

the time of Marcus Aurelius states explicitly that the Mitylenaeans put her head upon their coins ¹

§ 53 As Bernoulli has pointed out there are several points in connexion with these coins which raise a prejudice in our minds in favour of the head represented upon them being intended for Sappho Such are the place of minting the tortoiseshell lyre on the reverse and the treatment of the hair in certain coins To this may be added the fact that some of the busts or statues most generally accepted on other grounds as representing Sappho recall the style of head upon the coins. Moreover the long continuance of this type on the coinage shows that it was considered as especially appropriate to Mitylene We may therefore without much misgiving take it with the limitations before specified that Sappho was meant to be represented upon some at least of these coins That the features of the head are not always quite the same need not be a fatal objection to this view as even in the later undoubted representations of such notable persons as Alexander we find great divergence in the heads depicted both on coins and in busts

§ 54 As Sappho is not named on the early electrum or bronze coins it is only by conjecture that these can be assigned to her It is not so with the later bronze coins of the Imperial age Some of these have a bust of Sappho with her name attached others have a figure with a lyre either seated or standing which is obviously meant for Sappho though not actually named so Admiration for Sappho as we see from the many references to her in the writers of the period was widely

¹ *Onom.* ix, 84 Though he may be referring only to the recent appearance of Sappho's head upon the coins of Mitylene or Eresus, yet a consideration of the whole passage shows that this is by no means certain.

prevalent in the century during which these coins were issued. The coins which thus revived the memory of Sappho were struck at Eresus and Mitylene. The former were undoubtedly meant to portray the poetess, and not the courtesan of Eresus,¹ and we can conceive of no other reason for this except that she was born there, though her home became and remained Mitylene.

§ 55 The coins with which we are concerned here are —

(1) A coin of Antoninus Pius² with his head on the obverse. On the reverse is a head of Sappho with the legend $\text{CA}\Pi\Phi\Omega$ and apparently EPEC . The hair is bound with a sphendoné, or sling-pattern band, letting a tuft of loose hair escape behind.

(2) The second, issued under Antoninus Pius³ (as is supposed from the coiffure), at Mitylene, has a most striking portrait of Sappho on the obverse, facing right, with the legend $\Psi\text{A}\Pi\ \Omega$. In both the extant specimens there is this gap between the two letters without any trace of the missing letter, which would be Φ , but might conceivably be Π . The reverse has $\text{MYTIA-HNAI}\Omega\text{N}$ and a seven-stringed lyre. The portrait shows energy, intellect, and individuality.

(3) The third is a coin of Commodus,⁴ with his head upon the obverse. The reverse gives the bust of Sappho with legend $\text{CA}\Pi\Phi\Omega\ \text{EPEC}$.⁵ Though somewhat similar to the head on the first coin, the Sappho here

¹ Athen χiii , 596 E.

² In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It is not mentioned by Forrer, or Burchner, or Bernoulli.

³ See Burchner, *Zeitschr f Numism* ix, pt. 11, and plate, and Forrer, *Revue Belge de Numism* 1901, p. 401, who gives an atrocious illustration of it.

⁴ See Burchner, *ibid*, p. 116, and pl. iv, 7.

⁵ A very rare if not unique specimen, also at Paris.

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IMPERIAL BRONZE COINS OF MITYLENE
(140-190 A.D.)

has a more pleasing and less distressful expression. Bürchner speaks of the mouth and eyes as exhibiting *schmachtende Sehnsucht*. The hair shows the same loose tuft at the back though owing to the worn condition of the coin this is not well seen and the coiffure is not clearly discernible. It seems from the furrows that appear at the top of the head as if the hair was bound with bands at regular intervals. In the previous coin (2) though the coin is in good preservation it is difficult to be sure whether the hair is bound with bands or wound round with plaits of hair as has been done in modern days. But there is certainly no tuft or knot of hair at the back.¹

§ 56 The other coins of this period which do not bear Sappho's bust but certainly refer to her show her as sitting or standing with a lyre in her hands or at her side. These are

(1) A small bronze coin of Eresus of the Antonine period in the Vienna Collection.² The obverse has Hermes bearded and wearing a petasus. He stands on a base or ship's prow holding a caduceus in his right and a horn of abundance in his left hand with the letters ΕΡΕΣΙ. On the reverse is a figure with ΣΑΦΦΩ inscribed opposite sitting to left. She holds in her outstretched right hand a plectrum (or possibly a roll) and leans her left arm on a lyre placed behind her on a seat.

§ 57 The other four coins which give a figure of Sappho without her name are coins of Mitylene two of the reign of Pius of which one has the bust of Julia Procla³ on the obverse and the other that of a second

¹ The back of the head is quite round, nearly as much so as in the extraordinary bust at the Terme Museum in Rome.

² Bürchner *ibid.* p. 117 pl. lv 9.

Bürchner, *ibid.* p. 118 pl. lv 8.

heroine, Nausicaa¹ The reverse of the Procla coin represents Sappho in chiton and peplus seated to right and playing on a lyre of four strings set on her knee, or (in a second series) standing to right and holding with both hands a lyre placed on a column² and playing it The obverse of the Nausicaa coin is similar to the former of these Both coins have on the obverse the name of the Strategus and MYTI or MYTIA or the full name

The third coin was struck, probably at Mitylene, under Julia Domna, and there is a specimen at Vienna On the reverse Sappho is seated to left Her right arm is obliterated, while her left hand holds a lyre placed beside her on the chair This is somewhat similar to the Eresus reverse

Lastly, there is a coin with the bust of Gallienus on the obverse, and on the reverse Sappho in chiton and peplus seated to right on a high-backed chair, and playing a lyre The reverse also bears the inscription MYTIAHNAIΩN and the name of Valerius Aristomachus

§ 58 Besides the above, an attempt has been lately made³ to prove that Sappho is represented on a Syracusan coin of the third century B C It is a half-drachma, having on the obverse a laureated head of Apollo, and on the reverse ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ, and a female figure standing to left wearing a long chiton and diploïdion, her overgarment being belled like a sail behind her In her left hand she carries a branch of laurel, and in her right a half-opened roll, on which are traces of words, perhaps never intended to be decipherable Mirone thinks

¹ Forrer, *Rev Belge de Numism* 1901, p 420 Burchner, *Zeits d Numism*, pl iv, 8 (reverse)

² Cf the gem below, p 73

³ *Rev Numism*, ser iv, vol xxv, 1922, with plate

thus to be a representation of Silanion's statue which stood in the Prytaneum of Syracuse till stolen by Verres.¹

§ 59 It has been supposed with great probability that all the reverses of the Imperial coins which represent Sappho were taken from statues and certainly they have every appearance of being so but there is no positive evidence on the subject

*Busts of Sappho*²

§ 60 It is somewhat surprising that not a single statue or bust has come down to us bearing Sappho's name.³ So famous a personality and one so especially adapted for artistic treatment must have been constantly represented both in painting⁴ and sculpture. It is moreover most unlikely that not one of these representations should have come down to our time. We have seen that there are five or six vases bristle things at the best in which Sappho is pictured still extant. It is natural to suppose that the sculptors of the fifth century B.C. when Sappho as the vase paintings show was in the minds of men exercised their skill upon a subject likely to be so congenial to them. Yet as a matter of fact we have definite records of only two statues of Sappho known in antiquity. There is the celebrated statue by Silanion an Athenian sculptor of the fourth century just mentioned Cicero who

¹ Cicero, *Ad Verrem* ii. 4. 57. Others think the Albani bust is taken from Silanion's statue.

² For these see Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonographie* i. 64-72. Fortwängler *Masterpieces* pp. 69 ff. Percy Gardner *J.H.S.* 1918 38, pp. 1-76.

³ There is, indeed, a bust with the inscription ΣΑΠΦΩ ΕΡΕΣΙΑ given by Bellori *Imag.* 63 and pictured by Wolf in the frontispiece of his *Sappho* but the inscription is a forgery.

⁴ The only picture of Sappho we hear of was by a painter named Leon (see above).

may very likely have exaggerated its merits, calls it *opus tam perfectum tam elegans tam elaboratum*. If not a masterpiece, it must at all events have been a fine work of art, though Silanion did not stand in the highest rank of sculptors. Words can scarcely express, says Cicero, the sense of loss felt by the people of Syracuse, when this splendid work of art was carried away by Verres, leaving only its base with a very noble inscription in Greek upon it, discarded, he maliciously asserts, because Verres could not read it ¹. Why the Syracusans held Sappho in such honour is not known, but it may have some connexion with her flight to Sicily. Theocritus, himself a Syracusan, was, as his imitations of her show, an admirer of Sappho in the third century B C. Possibly, as we have already seen, this very statue was portrayed on a Syracusan coin ².

§ 61 The only other statue, of which we have any knowledge, is one which existed much later in the gymnasium called Zeuxippos in Constantinople. Christodorus, a poet of Egypt about A D 500, thus speaks of it in his metrical description of the statuary there

The Lesbian Sappho there at rest was wrought,
The clear-voiced sweet Pierian bee, ³
Giving the silent Muses all her thought
She seemed to weave some lovely melody

No certain copy of this statue has come down to us

§ 62 Before glancing at the numerous busts and statues that have been called *Sappho*, we must discuss a little

¹ Probably the epigram of Antipater given above, p 45

² Though some (Winter and Bernoulli) think that the Albani bust is taken from Silanion's statue

³ On the gem in the Marlborough Collection generally taken to represent Sappho, there are in the field a lyre and a bee

more fully one of the main points which lead to this identification and the one which chiefly connects them with the so-called Sappho coins of the early periods. This is the style of coiffure which we find depicted on the different busts and coins. But as the different types to some extent run into one another it is not always easy to differentiate them.

There are three general types (a) a coif or kerchief¹ covering the whole head² so that no hair shows at all. French writers sometimes call this a *cécryphale* and the Germans *haube*. That something similar may even still be in use among the Greeks seems probable from an entry in Lady Franklin's Diary (6th July 1858)³ where she speaks of a Greek lady of Chalcis whose head was covered in an indescribable way with a silk kerchief entirely covering it passing from the forehead behind.⁴ Possibly something of the same kind was meant by the *χειρόμακτρα* sent by Sappho for Aphrodite.⁵ (b) The second variety is often termed the *σάκκος*⁶ where the hair is mostly covered by a wrap but some is left visible either quite at the back as in the Antonine coins and the Dzialinski vase and the lovely Vienna bust or on the hunder part of the

¹ For examples see Wolf's *Sappho* Frontispiece, No. 3 and the Agostino gem, *ibid.*, No. 2 also the beautiful gem in King's *Hand book* pl. lxi, 6 the *Albani Statue* and the *Tête du cécryphale* Pottier (*Corr. Hellén.* i, 596) the Pitti Palace bust and the terra cotta relief at Rome.

² Also found on Phocaean coins. There seems to have been an agreement between Phocaea and Mitylene as to a common coinage. See Newton *Trans. Roy. Society of Literature* 1866.

³ See under date, Lady Franklin's Diary—in her *Life* by W. F. Rawnsley 1923.

Gipides sometimes wear a similar head-dress.

⁴ *Fragm.* 97.

This is also applied sometimes to the little cup made by the sphendoné to hold up the back knot of the hair.

crown as in the Albani bust, and some of the early coins of Lesbos,¹ or in streaks or slits here and there where the folds of the bands do not overlap, as in the Terme bust at Rome and the one in the Galeria Geografica at the Vatican and the bust in the British Museum, 1828 (c) There is thirdly the sphendoné or "sling" type of head-dress. The hair is wound about with one or more bands, a part of which broadens out like a sling. These bands are wound round the hair twice or thrice, separating the back portion in a knot or tuft, which is held up by a small cup of band-cloth like a little *sakkos*.² Such an arrangement of the hair is seen on the "Oxford" bust, and the *τάλας* vase, and in the figures on the Athenian hydria. Noticeable, too, is the straight line of the crown of the head carried right on to the end of the back knot.

Two other characteristic features of the coiffure deserve mention. These are the little spiral curls that are seen beside the ears in some of the older busts and statues, as in the Hope Statue at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the Albani bust,³ and a trait which Professor Gardner says is more archaic, the long curls which fall down upon the neck and shoulders, as in the janiform bust at Madrid⁴ and the Bellori bust with the forged inscription,⁵ and in the Munich vase of Alcaeus and Sappho.

§ 63 There must be nearly fifty busts or statues, which at different times and by various persons have

¹ Cf Brit Mus Catal *Troas*, etc, pl xxiii, 7

² This is sometimes named opisthosphendoné

³ Also in some of the electrum and bronze coins of Lesbos, cf too the Lansdowne bust

⁴ See Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p 68

⁵ See frontispiece to Wolf's *Sappho*

been taken to represent Sappho but at least a third of these are more or less fanciful attributions. Not one can be dated earlier than the middle of the fifth century B.C. that is more than 100 years after the probable date of Sappho's death and a quarter of a century subsequent to the issue of the earliest coins of Lesbos.

The earliest type of statue assignable as a Sappho¹ is shown by its style to be of the Pheidias school, and may as Furtwängler and others think be modelled on a draped Aphrodite by Pheidias. These have the early spiral curls and the narrow eyes characteristic of statues of Aphrodite. There is no likelihood that we have a real historical portrait of Sappho in any of these busts. The varieties of the type presented and the divergence from the coin type make it impossible to accept such a view. But on the other hand we cannot regard these representations of her as purely conventional in the same sense as for instance are the busts of Homer. Perhaps a goddess was originally typified but the head afterwards individualized to represent a mortal.

§ 64. A second series of heads somewhat later in date than the preceding consists of many examples and is best exemplified by the Oxford bust the Castellani bust in the British Museum the bust in the possession of Sir Alfred Mond from the late Sir J. C. Robinson's sale and the Madrid bust though there are several other excellent replicas. This has less of the divine type and partakes more of an individualized portrait character. But the experts label it Aphrodite. The Oxford bust has been taken by some to portray a courtesan.

¹ e.g. the statue in Mus. Arch. at Florence see Furtwängler and Gardner *II* and the Hope statue in the Ashmolean at Oxford. Bernoulli, i, 72, dismisses the Cleopatra type, which preceded this one, as not held by anyone to be Sappho.

§ 65 But it is when we get to the Albani bust that we feel with some confidence that an individual and woman, not a goddess,¹ is intended, the set and rather full lips and firm jaw bespeak a portrait. Hence it is that some have found in this head a replica of Silanion's statue.² It also goes back more nearly to the early coins of Lesbos in its coif and spiral curls. The face and coiffure differ entirely from those of the Oxford bust and its congeners. In the latter the face is nearly oblong, the lips thick and slightly parted. The hair is not covered with a coif, as in the Albani head, but bound with three bands, one over the forehead, letting some locks escape and line the forehead, the second passing over the crown and holding up the back hair with the sphendoné, the third dividing the knot of hair at the back from the rest. The expression is pleasing and somewhat sentimental. Bernoulli,³ describing the general type, which owing to its widespread occurrence cannot be lightly dismissed, says of the coiffure "The hair tuft at the back is gathered into a small *sakkos* (i.e. the cup or sling of the sphendoné), from which run bands in three different directions, and are wound round the head. One end passes obliquely over the crown forwards, and is threaded with a little point through the forehead band. The hair is gathered and coiled over the ears, as in the Albani statue,⁴ under the band. In some cases two wisps of hair are released and fall over the shoulders."

¹ Though this is the general view of experts who take it to be Persephone

² e.g. Winter, *Jahrb d Inst* v, 1890, pl. III., and Gardner, *JHS* 1918, No. 38

³ *Griech Iconographie*, I, p. 70

⁴ Kaffeehaus, No. 749, representing a goddess. The Albani bust is *Casino*, No. 1033

PLATE VIII



§ 66 A bust which has been associated (as a Sappho) with the Albani type is the beautiful Vienna bust¹ The hair is nearly entirely covered by the kerchief being seen only in little streaks here and there But this is now known to be the head of Hygieia as is seen from the statue in the possession of Sir Alfred Mond with an identical head and a serpent wreathed round the body The eyes with their broad lids are cast down in a dreamy look. The originality of the whole conception is manifest. A later and more Praxitelean copy of this bust unfortunately much damaged is in the Terme Museum at Rome We may now definitely rule this out as a bust of Sappho One other bust deserves particular mention—the Pitti Palace bust—dating from the fourth century and a little later than the last mentioned It is somewhat distantly related to the Albani bust but goes back to the coil treatment of the hair It is still more obviously a portrait even than the Albani bust and a poetess is certainly intended Gardner ascribes to it passion and enthusiasm The style is that of Skopas The lips are slightly parted and the head bends forward in a life-like and speaking attitude If not Sappho it must be one of the other well known poetesses of ancient times² Korinna perhaps or Erinna or Myrtis or Praxilla.

§ 67 There is also the Uffizi³ head at Florence with its noble and somewhat sad face It does not seem to conform closely to any of the above types It is a portrait. Bernoulli adds it to the list of replicas given by Furtwängler of the Madrid bust type. There are many other isolated and divergent busts somewhat

¹ *Antiken-Sammlung* 201

See Tatian, *Or ad Græc.* 52 B.

² Recalling the older idea.

rashly named "Sappho", such as the one at Wilton house,¹ the bronze bust from Herculaneum, now at Naples, which looks as if it might have been the bust of a modern lady, the Biscari head from Catana,² the bust lately in Sir J C Robinson's collection,³ the fresco from Pompeii of a young poetess holding a stilus to her lips, like Byron in Thorwaldsen's statue in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and others mentioned by Michaelis⁴ and elsewhere

§ 68 What, then, are the general characteristics which justify us in supposing that, in one or two of these types at all events, the sculptor intended to portray Sappho? These characteristics are, according to Bernoulli, apart from all reference to the coins, the Muse-like or poetic character, and in various instances the lips parted as if for singing, a lyre or roll held in the hand. There is moreover the celebrity and antiquity of the type. Some highly honoured woman must be meant. Portraiture is certainly intended in more than one example. Whom did the sculptor mean to portray? Is any individual woman more likely than Sappho?

Bronze and Terra-cotta Reliefs of Sappho

§ 69. Before passing on to the terra-cotta reliefs and gems, one small bronze must be mentioned. It is in the British Museum,⁵ and represents a small reclining figure with a seven-stringed lyre, wearing a chiton and himation, with right shoulder bare. The

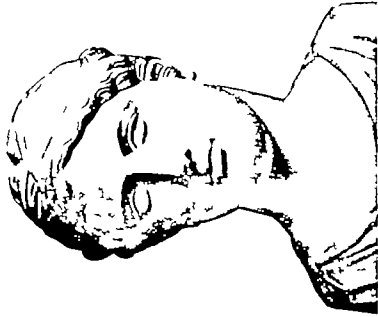
¹ Illustrated by Vandergucht, see J Addison's *Sappho*

² See *Rev Arch* 1901, p 301, plates xxxi-xxvii

³ Now in Sir Alfred Mond's possession

⁴ *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*

⁵ Guide to the Bronze Room, 1871, p 36, 7. It was intended as an attachment to some mirror or ornament of that sort. The date is about 480 B C. It came from S Italy. For illustration see p 188



FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS OF THE ALBANI BUST
(Fifth Century B.C.)

eyes are large and the full lips slightly open with a somewhat mane smile. Whether it is intended for Sappho or some other lyrist no one can tell for certain

§ 70 Only two terra-cotta reliefs representing Sappho or supposed to represent her exist. Bernoulli calls them *zweifelhaft*. One which is in the British Museum represents a female figure sitting on the right holding a seven-stringed lyre upright with her right and a plectrum in her left hand. Opposite her is a bearded figure holding *her* lyre with his left, and in his right a nondescript object he is in a slightly stooping attitude with down cast eyes while she with a firm expression gazes at him. A single band confines her hair of which the back knot or tuft seems to be in a *sakkos*. There appear to be obvious reasons for recognizing Alcaeus and Sappho in the two figures here. He is grasping her lyre as a gesture of deprecation for the severe reproof which we seem also to perceive in the vase picture from Agrigentum.

§ 71 The other relief is or was in the possession of a sculptor at Rome. It is of Roman times. For a description see Jahn.¹ The figure is sitting side-face to right with an outer garment of many folds covering the lower part of her body leaving the whole upper portion to the waist bare. The head is completely covered with a cloth kerchief such as Jahn says is used by women careless about their head-dress. The left hand lets the lyre sink, the right falls down listlessly by her side the right leg being bent backwards under her as if she was going to stand upright but, from the pose of the body appears not to have the power to do so. The head is thrown back so that the face is

¹ Otto Jahn, *Abhandl. d. phil.-hist. Klass. d. Sächs.-Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften*, vol. III, Leipzig, 1881

nearly horizontal, the eyes are closed, and the attitude one of dreamy reverie and overpowering passion. The lips are slightly open, as if for the last expiring notes of her song to issue from them—a song of which she herself and no other is the subject. One can scarcely doubt, says Jahn, that Sappho was intended. She was, or became, a type of unhappy love, as is seen in the *τάλας* vase, and a master-worker in the poet's art. He also points out the vast changes in manners, civilization, and art, that intervene between the vase picture and this presentment of her.

§ 72 There remain the six or seven gems, on only two of which is Sappho's name inscribed, the genuineness of the inscription being in both cases challenged. The best known gem is perhaps the one from the Marlborough Collection,¹ a cornelian with a woman's head to right incised upon it. The hair is not arranged in any of the fashions described above, but with three plaits used as a band over the forehead, a tuft showing loose ends at the back, and a tress or two falling on the nape. Behind is ΣΑΦ, and in front a ten-stringed lyre and a bee.² King doubts the authenticity of these adjuncts, and seems to think the spelling of the name a sign of forgery, but this by no means certain.³ He considers the head to be one of Aphrodite converted. But if not Sappho, it is more likely to be a Muse than Aphrodite.

§ 73 The second inscribed stone is the one which was in the collection of the Abbé Gravelle.⁴ On it is a lyre-playing figure, leaning against a pillar on which

¹ Reinach, *Pierres Gravées*, pl. cxxii, King, *Handbook of Gems*, pl. lxix, 7.

² See Epigram above, § 61.

³ See § 77.

⁴ See *Recueil de pierres Gravées*, Gravelle, ii, 81, Reinach, *Pierres Gravées*, pl. lxxx.



SAPPHO AND ALCAEUS
(From terracotta relief now in the British Museum)

is incised the name ΣΑΠΦΩ. This is possibly taken from the coin of which a specimen is at Vienna with the head of Julia Procla on the obverse and Sappho on the reverse playing a lyre which is set on a pillar.

§ 74. Similar in some of its details is a gem in the British Museum¹—a broken sard of the fifth century B.C.—which shows a female draped figure sitting in a chair reading from a scroll as on the Athenian hydria. In front stands a pedestal with a lyre placed upon it on which the word ΕΡΩC is lightly scratched. This is most probably a later addition. King in his *Handbook of Engraved Gems* gives a gem (paste) from a fine Greek work.² The hair is completely covered by a coil as in the early coins. A flowered circlet is slightly indicated on the forehead. The mouth is partly open. It may be Sappho or a Muse or a Sibyl.

§ 75. The two gems³ depicted in Faber are not now believed to represent Sappho. They give similar heads in an oval wreath, one of laurel berries, the other of ivy. They are portraits and give a strong masculine type of face. They are carefully incised, the hair being elegantly bound with a kerchief apparently in three folds.

This completes all the evidence there is bearing upon Sappho's external appearance. Can we gather from it any real idea of what Sappho was like in look and dress?

§ 76. It must be confessed that we can form no adequate conception of her from such conflicting testimony. We cannot be sure whether she wore a

¹ No. 556. A second "Sappho" gem in the Br. Mus. No. 1505 is not antique. See p. 188.

² Plate lxi, 6.

³ *Imagg.* 129. Agostino, i, pl. 75. Raspe, No. 10188. Gori, *Mus. Florentinum*, 1731-66. see also Wolf's *Sappho* frontispiece, 2. Possibly Sappho appears on a gem in the Museum Regium (*Ephemerides*, Paris, 1716, II, 69).

kerchief over her hair, as is probable, or the ἀνάδεσμος¹ and the purple bands² of the sphendoné with the little *sakkos* at the back to hold up the back knot. Possibly she wore ear-rings and a necklace, and had the two little spiral curls beside the ears or a tress or two of long hair falling upon her shoulders. Her eyes were probably large and her lips full, but not weak, and her jaw firm and not somewhat retreating as in the Uffizi bust.

The Name Sappho

§ 77 This may be derived from the root of σαφής and mean clear-voiced, or perhaps bright³. We find the name spelt in a great many ways. The form Sappho herself prefers is the Æolian Ψάφα, which appears in Fragment 3 put into Aphrodite's month, and in Fragn 7 into that of a friend. The spelling Ψα<π>φω is found on a Mitylenæan coin of the Antonine Period, and Ψαπφω on a Lesbian coin of Pius. The vocative is used by Sappho in Fragments 98 and 110. The early Dzialinski vase, about 480 B.C., spells the name ⊕Σ⊕ΑΟ. In all other examples the name begins with a Σ.

Σαπφώ is found in Alcaeus, *Fragment* 55, on a coin of Eresus in Commodus' time, and on the Middleton vase, *circa* 450 B.C., the Mylonas vase has ΣΑΠΦΥ (= either Σαπφώ or Σαπφούς), Σαπφο for Σαπφω is found on a gem, and on a red-figured lecythus⁴ with the same ο for ω. Σαφφω, the modern form, is first seen on an Antonine coin of Eresus, and the Latin Saffo (or Sappho) in Porphyry on ad Hor Sat II, I, 30, *Epist* I, 9, 38.

¹ See Epigram on Doricha above, § 11

² See Anth. Pal. VI, 211

³ For other derivations see Wolf's *Sappho*, p. 1

⁴ See above, § 73



FOUR GEMS SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT SAPPHO

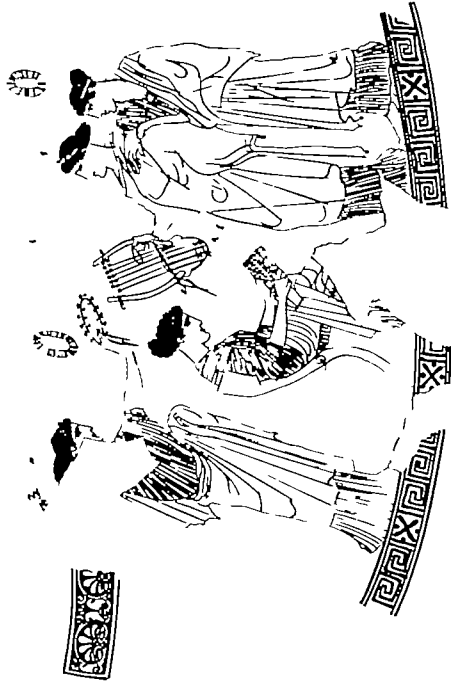
The Athenian hydria appears to have had (for it is now illegible) ΣΑΓΓΩΣ. A coin of Mitylene given by Sestini but probably forged gives ΣΑΦΟΥ. At the foot of Fragm. 141 the Oxyr Papytus gives ΣΑΦ<ΟΥΣ> the Munich vase ΣΑΦΟ the Michaelis vase ΣΑΟ (? ΣΑΟ) and a probably spurious coin given by Sestini ΣΑ. The Marlborough gem has ΣΑΦ

FRAGMENT OF A LIFE OF SAPPHO

From Oxy. Papyri 1800 Vol. xv p 138

Περὶ Σαπφούς

[Σαπφώ τὸ μὲν γένος] ἦν Α[εσβία πόλεως δὲ Μιτ]υλήνης
 [πατρὸς δὲ Σκαμ]άνδρου κατὰ δὲ τινὰς Σκα]μανδρωνύμιον
 ἀδελφούς δ'] εσχέ τρεῖς [Ερ]ήνιον καὶ Λά]ριχον πρεσβύ-
 [τατον δὲ Χάρ]αξον ος πλεῦσας ε[ἰς Αἰγυπτον] Δωρίχα τινι
 προσο[μλη]τῆς κατεδαπάνησεν εἰς ταυτην πλείστα τὸν δὲ
 Λάριχον(νέον) οὐτα μᾶλλον ἡγάπησεν θυγατέρα δ' εσχέ
 Κλεινὸν ὁμωνυμον τῇ ἐαυτῆς μητρὶ κατηγορεῖται δ' ὑπ
 ἐνίων ως ατακτος οὐ[σα] τὸν τρόπον καὶ γυναικε[ρασ]τρία
 τὴν δὲ μορφήν[ευ]καταφρόνητος δοκεῖ γε[γον]έναι[ι κα]ὶ δυο
 εἰδεστάτη τὴν μὲν γάρ ὄψιν φαιωδης ὑπῆρχεν τὸ δὲ μέγεθος
 μικρὰ παντελῶς τὸ δ' αὐτὸ συμβέβηκε καὶ περὶ τὸν
 []ν ἐλάττω [] γεγونا[] ἦν



SAPPHO HONOURED BY HER PUPILS
(From hydria in the Athens Museum Middle of Fifth Century B.C.)

THE POEMS OF SAPPHO

1

See vase-painting facing this page and above
§ 48 (5) Edmonds 1^a

Θέοι ἡερίων ἐπέων ἀρχομαι ἀ[λ]λ ἀνα[ι]τίων

Or possibly ἀντίων (Edm ὄνατων)

*Words light as air I handsel here
But blameless in the ears that hear*

2

Bergk 45 Edmonds 80

Glyconic App 18

Hermogenes iii 17 ed. Walz Όταν τὴν λύραν ἐρωτᾷ
ἡ Σαπφώ καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίνηται καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς

Ἄγε [δὴ] χέλυ δῖά μοι
φώνεσσα δὲ γίνεο

Eustathius *Iliad* xi 41 says Sappho uses a Homeric figure in addressing her lyre The exact reading of the lines is uncertain

Hermogenes *When Sappho questions her lyre and it answers and the sequel —*

To her Lyre

*Come now O Lyre of mine
Lift up thy voice divine !*

3

Bergk, 1, Edm 1

Sapphic, Apb 16

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Compos* 23, quotes this poem in full as an instance of the smooth and ornate style (γλαφυρὰ καὶ ἀνθηρὰ σύνθεσις)

Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφρόδιτα,
παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε,
μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα,
πότνια, θῦμον·

5 ἀλλὰ τυίδ' ἔλθ', αἶ ποτα κατέρωτα
τᾶς ἔμας αὖδως ἄτοισα πῆλυι
ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα
χρῦσιον ἦλθες

10 ἄρμ' ὑπασδεύξαισα, κάλοι δέ σ' ἄγον
ὥκεες στρουῦθοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
πύκνα δίννεντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠράνω αἵθερ-
ος διὰ μέσσω,

αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο· σὺ δ' ὦ μάκαιρα,
μειδιάσαις' ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ
15 ἦρε', ὅττι δηῦτε πέπονθα κῶττι
δηῦτε κάλημι,

κῶττ' ἔμῳ μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι
μαινόλα θύμῳ “τίνα δηῦτε Πείθω

Ἀνθηρά lit flowery, yet not in our sense, but “with all the colour and delicate associations of a flower”

1 v1 ποικιλόφρον' Plny, *NH* 36, 6, tells us that marble with spots of many colours was found in Lesbos

10 στρουῦθοι see Athen 1x, 391 C, περὶ γᾶς μ cf Ox Pap 1231, 9

11 Or ὀρράνω

15 MS δ' ἦν το P

18 Or πείθωμαι σ'

μαῖσ' αἴγην ἐς σὺν φιλότατα τίς σ' ὦ
20 Ψάπφ' ἀδικήει

καὶ γὰρ αἱ φύγει τάχως διωξεί
αἱ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ' ἀλλὰ δώσει
αἱ δὲ μὴ φίλει τάχως φίλησει
κωκυ ἐθέλοισα

25 ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον
ἐκ μερίμναν οὔσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι
θῦμος ἡμέρρει τέλεσον σὺ δ' αὐτὰ
σύμμαχος ἔσσο

21 Cf. Theocr. 6 17

24 Not ἰθὺλαίω as Welcker

27 Cf. Ovid *Heroid.* xv 57

Except 71 (?) the only complete poem which we have of Sappho's. It probably stood first in the Alexandrian edition of her works in nine books according to metres.

A Prayer to Aphrodite

Immortal Cypris of the marbled throne
Daughter of Zeus for all wiles are thine own
Crush not my soul O Lady Queen
with care and teen

5 But hither come if Thou in days gone by
Didst ever leave thy Father's home on high
Deigning from far my prayers to hear
with listening ear

And camest in thy golden car that straight
10 Thy dainty sparrows down from Heaven's gate
With quick wings winnowing the air
o'er dark Earth bare

1 But see Willamowitz *Sappho und Simonides* p. 44

10 Horace *Od.* iii 28 14 gives Venus a team of swans; and swans draw Apollo's chariot in 108.

And, lo ! were here , and Thou, O Lady Blest,
 Thy lovely face in smiles immortal drest,
 15 Didst ask what ills assailed me ? Why
 this wistful cry ?

For what new boon with frenzied soul I prayed
 Above all else , and " Who ", saidst thou, " the maid
 Whose love you fain would win ? Who so works
 20 Sappho woe ?

If now she spurns, she soon shall seek your side,
 If gifts she scorns, to give shall be her pride,
 If she kiss not, she soon shall kiss,
 coy though she is "

25 Come, Queen, now also, and thy suppliant save
 From carking cares All that my heart would crave
 Bring thou to pass, and be my friend
 still to the end

4

Bergk, 2 , Edm 2

Sapphic, App 16

This famous lyric preserved for us by the so-called Longinus in his treatise *On the Sublime* (§ 10), scarcely to be matched for its exquisite art and intense passion, has in respect to its subjective meaning met with the most divergent interpretations. Passionate love for a girl is certainly portrayed, but though the writer speaks in the first person, she may surely be depicting passion as a poet, not as a woman, and in any case the rival here is a man, and no definite individual either, as *óττις* shows. There is no real reason to suppose that Anactoria is alluded to. The same difficult problem confronts us in the

case of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* Are they masterpieces of pure objective imagination or hot with real personal feeling? Catullus as a lyrist the nearest Roman rival to Sappho has translated this poem.¹ This lyric is quoted or imitated among others by Plato Theocritus Lucretius Plutarch Lucian Horace and Tennyson

See Wilamowitz *Sappho und Simonides* pp 56 ff He seems to think that it is a wedding poem.

Φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἰσος θέοισιν
ἔμμεν ὦνῃρ ὅττις ἐνάντιός τοι
ἰξάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἄδῃ φωναί
σας ὑπακούει

5 καὶ γελαίσας ἱμέροεν τό μοι μὲν
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόασεν
ὡς γὰρ [es] σ ἰδῶ βροχέως με φωνας
οὔδεν ἔτ ἴκει

ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲν γλῶσσα φέεγε λέπτον δ
10 αὐτικά χρῶ πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμακεν
διππάτεσσι δ οὔδεν ὀρημ ἐπιρρόμ
βεισι δ ἀκουαι

ἀ δέ μ Ἰδρως κακχέεται τρόμος δέ
παῖσαν ἄγρει χλωροτέρα δέ ποίας

15 εἴμι τεθνέκην δ ὀλίγω πιθεύην
φαίνομαι []

ἀλλὰ πᾶν τόλματον ἐπεὶ [καί] πένητα

1 Another fragment, quoted by Apoll., *de Pronom.* 368 A, begins very similarly φαίνεται τοι κῆνος (Bergk, 111 = Edm. 26)

2 Cf 40, below

7 For βροχέως MS. Edm. reads *Βρόχει* or *Βρόχεια*, voc. of *Βροχίω* = *Βραχίω* (to correspond to the name Lesbia in Catullus transl.) followed by *ως* Lobel, βρόχε ὡς με φωνασο

11 Cf. Archil. 103

16 For ἄλλα (= frenzied) Hermann reads *Α θ*; Paton and Wilam. *Αγαλλ*.

To a beloved girl

Like to the Gods I deem him blest,
 Who face to face with thee, thy guest,
 Sits welcome with ears rapt to hear
 thy voice so sweet, so near,

5 Thy lovely laugh that sight doth make
 The heart within my bosom shake !
 When I but glance at thee, no word
 from my dumb lips is heard,

My tongue is tied, a subtle flame
 10 Leaps in a moment o'er my frame,
 I see not with mine eyes, my ear
 can only murmurs hear,

Sweat dewes my brow, quick tremors pass
 Through every limb, more wan than grass
 15 I blanch, and frenzied, nigh to death,
 I gasp away my breath

[But be his fortune e'er so ill
 The poor man must endure it still]

Catullus to his Lesbia

The peer of any God I deem that guest,
 Nay e'en, if that may be, than Gods more blest,
 Who sitting face to face with thee
 Can hear at once and see

5 Thee sweetly smiling which, but seen, doth daze,
 Ah me ! my every sense , for while I gaze
 Lesbia, on thee, no more *a word*
 From my dumb lips is heard,

- My tongue is palsied and a subtle flame
 10 Runs deeply down into my very frame
 Sounds ring within mine ears my sight
 Is sealed with double night.

5

Ox. Pap 1231 15, Edm 45 Lobel, 11 He begins
 with Ox. Pap 1231, 13

Sapphic App 16

Gongyla to whom apparently these mutilated stanzas
 are addressed came from Colophon and was one of
 Sappho's pupils.

- [Σὺν τύχῃ σπεύσων] κέλομαι σ[ε]
 [Γόγ]γυλα []νθι λάβοισα μέ[νδυν]
 [γλα]κτίαν σὲ δὴ ὕτε πόθος τ[ις ἄμος]
 ἀμφιπόταται
 5 τὰν κάλαν α γὰρ κατάγωγος αὐτὰ
 ἐπτόαισ ἴδοισαν ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω
 καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ δὴ π[οτ] ἐμεμ[φόμεν τὰν]
 Κυπρογέν[ησαν]
 [τ]ᾶς ἀραμα[ι]
 10 τοῦτο τῷ
 [β]όλλομα[ι]

2 Wilam. Edm. βρόδανθι. μένδυν is very uncertain.

3 γλακτ Wilam Lobel πλάκτιν δε.

4 Hor., Od. 1, 2, 34 Q Smyrn. 5 71

7 Possibly τότ Diehl reads τ γε μέμφεται σοι Κυπρογένεα.

*I bid thee hither come and God thee bless
 Sweet Gongyla put on thy milk white dress
 For round thee, lovely as thou art
 Flits the sweet longing of my heart*

- 5 It thrills me through thy very robe to see
 Afar and I rejoice that this should be

For I too dared once in the past
 Blame on the Cyprus-born to cast
 [But may she pardon me my fault and deign
 To give thee to my longing back again]

6

Berlin. Klass-Texte, P 9722, 5, Edm 86, Wilam, S u S, p 53 f

Glyconic, Aph 18, 23, 32

The opening words of this beautiful lyric are lost, and we do not know to which member of Sappho's circle it is addressed. The Atthis, spoken of in line 17, is mentioned by Suidas as one of Sappho's *ἐταῖραι καὶ φίλαι*, and is compared by Maximus Tyrius (xliv, 9) with Charmidas, as holding a similar place in the affections of Socrates. She seems, however (see *Fragm* 19), to have deserted Sappho for a rival teacher, Andromeda, though Sappho had known her from childhood. Ovid (*Heroid*, xv, 18) couples her name with those of Anactone and Cydro (or Cydno). Wilamowitz, followed by Diehl, introduces the name Arignota in line 5. But there is no further record of her.

[Γογγύλα μάκραν, *Ατθι, φίλων ἄνεν]
 [ναιέτας ἐνὶ] Σάρδ[εσιν]
 [οἰκεῖ, πόλ]λακι τυίδε [ν]ῶν ἔχοισα
 ὥς πο[τ' ἐ]ζώμεν β[ίον, ἀ]ς ἔχεν
 5 σὲ θεᾶ Φικέλαν ἀρι—
 γνώτα σᾶ δὲ μάλιστ' ἔχαιρε μόλπα
 νῦν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναι-
 κεσσιν, ὥς ποτ' ἀελίω
 δύντος ἀ βροδοδάκτυλος σελάννα

4 βίον δς, Edm. The whole line is very doubtful. MS has colon before β. Schubart reads βεβάως, Diehl and Wilamowitz Ἀριγιώτα
 9 σελ. Schubart for μήνα MS

- 10 πάντα περρέχοισ ἄσπρα φάος δ' ἐπὶ
 σχει θάλασσαν ἐπ' αλμύραν
 ἴσως καὶ πολυανθέμοις αρούραις
 ἃ δ' ἔρσα κάλα κέχυνται τεθά
 λαίοι δὲ βρόδα κᾶπαλ αν-
 15 θρυσκα καὶ μελλιωτος ανθεμωδης
 πόλλα δὲ ζαφοίταισ ἀγάνασ ἐπι
 μνάσθεισ Ατθιδος ἡμέρω
 λέπτων ποι φρένα κῆρ ἄσφ βόρηται
 κῆθι δ' ἔλθην ἄμμι ὄξυ βοᾷ τὰ δ' οὐ
 20 νῶν γ' ἄπυστα νυξ πολυως
 γαρύε[ι δι'] ἄλον πα

On the verso of this MS says Edmonds is an un-
 mutilated but in its present condition indecipherable
 poem of twenty lines

18 ζαφ. nom. pend. or if 3rd pers. sing δ must be added after
 κῆρ However ζαφοίταισα may be part of subject, of βόρηται if
 φρένα and κῆρ are both acc. of respect. Edm. reads κῆρ.

20 Or νῶν = ὄντα (νόημι) Schubert.

21 For additional fragments of this poem see below p 226

O Atthis from her friends away

In Sardis dwells our Gongyla

Far off. But oft her thoughts recall

How erst we lived when in her eyes

5 *A glorious goddess thou didst rise*

And thy sweet songs were all in all.

But now with Lydian ladies met

She shines as when the sun is set

The moon with rosy fingers spread

10 *Mid circling stars while o'er the sea's*

Salt foam and flower-enamelled leas

Alike her lustrous light is shed

- And, while the fair dew falls, upgrows
 The delicate anthrisky with the rose
 15 And clover's honey-scented bloom.
 And often, going on her way,
 Her thoughts to gentle Atthis stray,
 And longing weighs her heart with gloom
 " Oh, come ! " she cries, nor all in vain
 20 For the all-hearing Night again
 Whispers the word across the main.

7

Berlin Klass-Texte, P 9722, 2, Edm 83; Wilam.
 S u S, p 49
Glyconic, *Apf* 18, 34

- [*Nûn* ἄρ' Ἀτθίς ἀποιίχεται,
 τεθνάκην δ' ἀδόλως θέλω
 ἃ με ψισδομένα κατελίππανε
 πόλλα, καὶ τοδ' ἔειπ[έ μοι]
 5 " ὦμι' ὥς δεῖνα πεπόνθαμεν
 Ψάπφ', ἥ μάν σ' ἀέκοισ' ἀπυλιππάνω "
 τὰν δ' ἔγω τάδ' ἀμειβόμαν
 " χαίροισ' ἔρχεο κἄμεθεν
 μέμναισ' οἴσθα γὰρ ὥς σε πεδήπομεν
 10 αἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλά σ' ἔγω θέλω
 ὄμναισαι, σ[ὺ δὲ λάθ]εαι,
 ὅσ[σα μάλθακα] καὶ κάλ' ἐπάσχομεν
 πό[λλα δ' ὥς στεφάν]οις ἴων
 καὶ βρ[όδων πλο]κίων τ' ὕμοι
 15 " καί[ριων] παρ' ἔμοι παρεθήκαο,

9 MS μέμναισθ'

10 μῆ coalesces with ἀ of ἀλλά, cf 8₁₁

12 Wilamowitz

- καὶ π[όλλαις ὑπα]θυμῖδας
 πλέκ[ταις ἀμφ'] ἀπάλα δέρα
 ἀνθέων ἐ[ράτων] πεπονημέναις
 καὶ πόλλω [λιπάρως] μύρω
 20 βρενθείω βασιλῆϊ
 ἐξαλείψω κα[λλίκομον] κᾶρα]
 καὶ στρωμν[αν] ἐ[πι] μολθακᾶν
 ἀπάλαν πα[]α οὔων
 ἐξίης πόθο[] νιδων
 25 κωυτε τις []τε τι
 ἱρον οὐδ ὕ []
 ἔπλετ ὅππ[]μες ἀπέσκομεν
 οὐκ ἄλσος [] αρος

19 Blase. The MS has μέρω.

21 Blase. But the new Fragn. (Lobel, p. 79) puts βασιλ. in this line.

22-28 Additions from Ox. Pap xvi (Lobel, p. 79) Also πόθος at end of l. 29 and οἰδία at end of l. 30

- Our Atthis then afar is sped*
 And I in sooth would fain be dead
 She as she went was weeping still
 And thus said sobbing in my ear
 5 How sad our lot O Sappho dear
 Ah but I go against my will!
 And her I answered thus again
 Good luck go with thee but remain
 Mindful of me whose only care
 10 Thou wast or else if thou forget
 I may not but remind thee yet
 How sweet a life was ours how fair!
 When many a wreath of violet
 And rose in timely garlands set
 15 Thou twinedst, sitting at my side

And thou didst smooth *thy glossy harr*

And as on cushions soft *we lay*
Thy longing thou didst put away

8

Ox Pap 1231, 1, Edm 38
Sapphic, App 16.

We cannot tell to whom this ode was addressed, unless in line 15 we read *Ἀνακτορία*, but it was some member of Sappho's circle no doubt

οἱ μὲν ἱππῶν στροφήν οἱ δὲ πῆλξιν
οἱ δὲ νῶν φαῖσ' ἐπὶ γῶν μέλαιναν
ἔμμεναι κάλλιστον ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὅτ-
τω τις ἔραται

5 [πά]γχυ δ' εὖμαρες σύνετον πόησαι
[π]άντι τοῦτ' ἄ γὰρ πόλυ περσκ[όπ]εισα
[κάλ]λος [ἀνθ]ρώπων Ἐλένα τὸν ἄνδρα
[κρίννε κάλ]ιστον,

[ὅς τὸ πᾶν] σέβας Τροῖα[ς ὃ]λεσσε
 IO [κωῦδὲ π]αῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων τοκήων
 [οὔδεν] ἐμνάσθη, [ἀλλὰ] παρὰ[γα]γ' αὐταν
 [φαῦλα φίλει]σαν

2 Cf 1₁₀, Ox Pap 1231, 9₆ Here we should expect $\gamma\alpha s$

4 = Bergk 13, from Apoll, *Synt* 291

8 Lobel suggests $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\lambda\iota\pi\epsilon$

- [Κύπρις εὐκ]αμπτον γὰρ [δαί τὸ θηλυ]
 [αἶ κε]τις κούφως τ[ὸ πάρον] νοήσῃ
 15 [ἀλ]λὰ νῦν Ἀνακτορί[ας τὸ μέ]μναισ
 [οῦ] παρεόισας
 [τᾶ]ς κε βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα
 καμάρυγμα λάμπρον ἴδην προσωπα
 ἦ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα κᾶν ὄπλοισι
 20 [πρεδομ]άχοντας
 [εὖ μὲν ἴδ]μεν οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι
 [πάντ] ἐν ἀνθρωποις πιδέχην δ' ἄρασθαι
 [εστιν αἴπερ οἱ μάκαρες θέλοισιν]
 [ἄμμιον ἀρήγην]

This poem is followed in the MS by a single stanza of which only the words τ ἐξ ἑδοκῆτω remain. This may be part of the above poem or a single stanza poem.

13 δαί κ.τ.λ. Edm.

15 Or τῆλε for ἀλλᾶ. Lobel reads [δ]μναισ

20 So Rackham Bδ κ.τ.λ. Wllam.

21 Cf. Ox. Pap 1231 2. Ε μὲν ἴδ Wllam. Lobel says not ἴδ

Some think a gallant navy on the sea,
 And some a host of foot or horse to be
 Earth's fairest thing but I declare
 the one we love more fair

- 5 Right easy is the proof that all may know
 How true my saying is for Helen though
 Much mortal beauty she might scan
judged him the fairest man

- Who in the dust Troy's majesty defiled
 10 Nor rather of her parents dear and child
 Had thought but Cyprus-led astray
 cherished an ill love's way

For nowise hard is *woman's will* to sway
 If from home thoughts she lightly turn away

15 So now far Anactoria be
 in memory nigh to thee !

Whose sweet foot-fall I would more gladly hear,
 And the bright glory of her face see near,

 Than Lydian chariots in the field
 20 and foot with spear and shield

Full well we know that mortals may not fare
 In all things well albeit to crave a share

 In what is well *is not denied*,
 if Heaven be on our side

19 Anactoria, it seems, was in Lydia

9

Ox Pap 7, Edm 36, Weir Smyth, *Lyric Poets*,
 p 35 See Plate 14

Sapphic, App 16

One stanza lost

[Πότνιαι] Νηρήιδες, ἀβλάβη[ν μοι]

[τὸν κασί]γνητον δότε τυίδ' ἔκεσθαι,

[κῶσσα τῶ] θύμῳ κε θέλῃ γένεσθαι

[πάντα τε]λέσθην,

5 [ὅσσα δὲ πρ]όσθ' ἄμβροτε, πάντα λῦσαι,

[καὶ φίλοι]σι Φοῖσι χάραν γένεσθαι

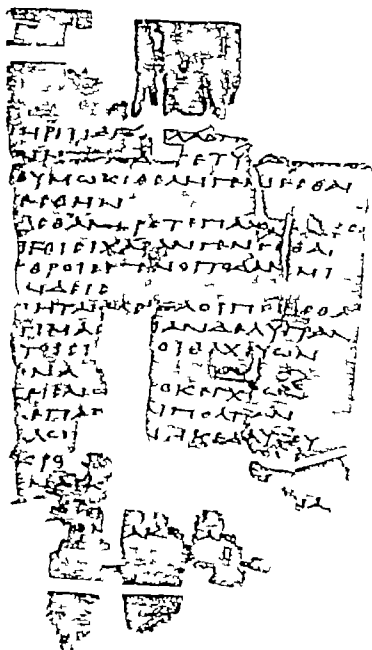
[κῶδύναν ἔ]χθροισι γένοιτο δ' ἄμμι

[μήποτα μ]ήδεις

1 Other suggestions are ὦ φίλαι, Κύπρι καί Cf Hor, *Od* iii, 1

3 *F* ὦ Edm

8 Sc ἔχθρος, but this is scarcely satisfactory Edmonds reads
 δύσκλεα = δύσκλεια



THE NEREID ODE FROM A THIRD CENTURY PAPYRUS
(Now in the British Museum)

- [τὰν κασι]γνήταν δὲ θέλοι πόησθαι
 10 [ἔμμορον] τίμας [ὄν]ϊαν δὲ λύγραν
 [καὶ λόγοις] ὅτοισι [πάρ]οιθ' ἀχεύων
 [κᾶμον ἐδᾶ]μνα
- [κῆρ ὀνειδισ]μ εἰσαΐων τό κ' ἐν χρῶ
 [κέρρεν ἀλλ'] ἐπ' ἀγ[λαΐ]α πολίταν
 15 [ἐκλάθεσθ' αἶ]λλως [ὅτα]νῇ κε δαῦτ' οὐ-
 [δεν διὰ μάκρῳ]

ον αι κ[ε] σι
 ρην σὺ[δε] λύγρ [ε]ρε[μ]να
 θεμένα κάκαν
 20 η

10 *δρμ.* Jurenka *Willam.*

11 *λόγοις* = *λόγοις* Edm.

13 *Cf.* Ovid, *Heroid.* xv 67

14 *κέρρεν* Blam.

15 Or *ἄλλ' οὐ* Rest of line as Edmonds. The reading throughout the stanza is very doubtful.

17-20 All this is extremely doubtful. *λύγρ* is Blam's suggestion.

Charaxus Sappho's eldest brother had bought and married at Naucratis in Egypt a beautiful slave courtesan named Doricha. Herodotus who calls her Rhodōpis Rosycheeks tells us (ii 135) that Sappho scolded him (or her *ἐκερτόμησέ μιν* see also Athen xiii 596 B Compare Ovid *Heroid* 63 and 117)

O sovran Nereids grant me this I pray
 To bring my brother safe upon his way
 And whatsoe'er his heart hath willed
 be all fulfilled !

- 5 For that wherein he faulted make amends
 Grant him to be a joy to all his friends

To foes a bane, but none be thus
a harm to us !

And may he to his sister gladly bring
10 *A share* in honour , but that bitter sting,
The *words* he spoke in angry part
and broke my heart

(Hearing that song of mine that touched him near)
—Yet grant that in the city's welcome here
15 *He may forget all that*, when home
he soon shall come

The succeeding stanza appears to be an appeal to
Cypris to put away his evil shame and be reconciled to
his family at Mitylene, but its meaning is far from
certain

10

Ox Pap 1231, 1, Edm 37

Sapphic, App 16

A poem of three stanzas, of which the first two are
entirely lost except for the ends of the first, the second,
third, fifth, sixth, and seventh lines viz *α μάκαιρα* ·
υπλοῦ ατος και ἄμβροτε κη ιε νοσαλ . . .

Two stanzas

Κύπρι, καί σε πι[κροτέρ]αν ἔπευρε·
[οἱ] δὲ καυχάσαντο τόδ' ἐννέποντες
[Δω]ρίχα τὸ δεύτερον ὥς πόθε[ννον]
[εἰς] ἔρον ἦλθε

This poem is followed in the MS by 8 (above), without
the *coronis* Lobel would read *ἐπεύροι, μηδὲ καυχάσαιτο*
ἐννέποισα

There is in this poem, apparently, a taunting allusion to

Doricha being transferred from the position of mistress of Xanthes the Samian to that of wedded wife of Charaxus. We may suppose evil minded persons at Naucratis to be speaking —

Cypris and thee *more bitter* did he find
While they with boasting spake their scornful mind
A second love how much to be desired
has Doricha acquired !

1 Le Charaxus.

11

Berl Klass Texte 5 P 5006 verso Edm. 35
Bergk Adesp 56 A but he inclines to ascribe the poem to Alcaeus

Sapphic App 16

Ox. Pap 424. The position of lines 13 ff was identified by Lobel.

Apparently to an unnamed friend who has deserted Sappho for persons of greater consequence Of the first stanza only the last word *δωσῆν* remains

One stanza at least is lost

5 [καὶ κ]λυτὰν μὲν τ ἐπ[]
[καὶ κά]λων κᾶσλων [λόγον ουδεν εἶπων]
[τοῖς φί]οις λύπης τέ [με σὸν κατίσταῖς]
[τωνο]μ ὄνειδος

πρὸς ταῦ οἰδήσαις ἐπίτα[δες ἔχθραν]

10 [καρδ]ίαν ᾄσαιο τὸ γὰρ ν[όημα]
[τῷ]μον οὐκ οὕτω μ[αλάκως πρὸς ὄργαν]
[σάν] διάκηται

5 Edm. but the restoration of the whole poem is doubtful

6 After *ἐνδον* the MS. has a doubtful ε possibly *ἔως* might be read. *καὶ* Edm.

10 *καρδ.* and *όημα*, Blom.

11 Blom and Bücheler

- [ἀλλὰ] μὴ δόαζε
 15 χις συνίημι
 ης κακότητος
 μιν
 ν ἀτέραις με
 φρένας εὖ
 ατοῖς μακαρ

The verses are so mutilated that we cannot put any confidence in the restoration of them, nor, consequently, in the translation

- 5 To great ones only *have thy footsteps flown*
 Not to the good and true, *thou giv'st thy own*
No word, and woundest me with shame,
 Cast by thee on an honoured name

- Swoll'n so big, go on, feed fat thy pride,
 10 Let hatred fill thy heart Yet I abide
 Unshaken with a soul too strong
 Not to resent thine anger's wrong

For the possible train of thought in the following stanzas, see Edmonds 35

Doubt not bethink thee in thy better soul
And turn to fairer ways, for self-control
And gentleness, not hate or pride,
Can win the Blest Ones to our side

Athenaeus $\chi\nu$ 674 D Παράγγελλει ἡ Σαπφῶ στεφάνοισθαι τοὺς θινοντας ὡς ευανθέστερον καὶ κεχαρισμένον μᾶλλον τοῖς θεοῖς

To the four lines of this poem which was probably in couplets already preserved by Athenaeus a papyrus fragment from Oxyrhynchus adds from the two previous couplets ἀπυθεσθ towards the end of line 2 τάχιστα λ from line 3 and two letters μπ in the line following

5 Σὺ δὲ στεφάνοις ὦ Δίκα πέρθεσθ' ἐράταις φάβαισι
ὄρπακας ἀνῆτω συναέρραισ ἀπάλαισι χέρσιν

εὐάνθεα [μὲν] γὰρ πέλεται καὶ χάριτος Μακαίραν
μᾶλλον προτέρην ἀστεφάνωτοισι δ' ἀπυστρέφονται

6 Grenfell and Hunt for συναέρραισ — Herm. συνεέρραισ Others read ἀνῆτοις.

7 πέλεται = it befalls Χαρ προτ = have precedence in grace.

Athenaeus Sappho enjoins those who offer sacrifice to garland their heads on the ground that what is more adorned with flowers is the more pleasing to the gods.

The Dika who is addressed is supposed to be the same as Mnasiidika a pupil of Sappho's

On thy lovely tresses Dika, garlands bind
Shoots of dill with tender hands together twined
High stand flower wearers in the Blest Ones grace
But from heads ungarlanded they turn their face

13

Bergk 86 Edm. 121

Alcaic App 21

Maximus Tyrius 24 9 Νῦν μὲν ἐπιτιμᾷ ταύταις (Gorgo and Andromeda) ἡ Σαπφῶ νῦν δὲ ἐλέγχει καὶ αἰρωννύεται

αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα τῷ Σωκράτους (e g τὸν Ἴωνα χαίρειν Plato, *Ion*, 510 A)

πόλλα μὲν τὰν
πωλυανάκτιδα παῖδα χαίρειν

2 Adj not patronymic as τὰν shows Edm

Maximus Tyrius At one time Sappho reproaches Gorgo and Andromeda, at another confutes them and employs against them the very same irony as Socrates (e g when he wishes Ion farewell).

To Gorgo or Andromeda
A very good day from me,
O many-king'd child, to thee !

1 I borrow the phrase from Mr Edmonds

14

Bergk, 58, Edm 125
Hendecasyllabic, *Aph* 23

Ἐχει μὲν Ἀνδρομέδα κάλαν ἀμοιβαν
Andromeda hath now a goodly recompense

15

Bergk, 70, Edm 98
Choriambic (?), *Aph* 24

Athen 1, 21 C, Σαπφῶ περὶ Ἀνδρομέδας σκώπτει · Max Tyr 24, 9 Κωμῳδεῖ (Σωκράτης) σχῆμά που καὶ κατὰ κλισιν σοφιστοῦ, καὶ αὕτη (Σαπφῶ) See also Eustath, *Od* xxii, 770

Τίς δέ σ' ἀγροῖωτιν ἐπεμμένα σπόλαν
θέλγει τ(οι) ἀγροῖωτις [ἔρω νόον γύνα],
οὐκ ἐπισταμένα τὰ βράκε' ἔλκην ἐπὶ τῶν σφύρων ,

1, 2 The reading and scansion are quite uncertain

Athenaeus Sappho girds at Andromeda. Max Tyrius Socrates makes fun of a certain Sophist's appearance and dress—so Sappho too —

What wench in rustic garments dight
Ensnares thy soul with new delight
 That knows not how with dauntiness
 About her feet to draw her dress?

16

Ox. Pap 1787 34 Bergk 76 5 Edm 115

Ionic App 30

Mnasidika perhaps the same as Dika (see 12) and Gyrinno were Sappho's friends and companions. Max Tyrius comparing Gyrinno (Gyrinna) and Atthis and Anactoria to the friends of Socrates sets Gyrinno first as a parallel to Alcibiades the chief favourite of Socrates.

Besides the single line preserved for us by Hephaestion (69) a new papyrus fragment gives us the opening letters of the four previous lines viz. *καίτ' εἰ μῆδεν νῦν*
δ δ μῆ βόλλεο

Εὐμορφότερα Μνασιδίκη τῆς ἀπάλας Γυρίνῳ

Some MSS of Ovid *Heroid* xv 15 have *nec mihi Pyrrino subeunt Mnasive puella*. Choeroboscus (Cornuc Aldi 268 B) has *Μνάιδος καὶ Πυρρινῶς*

Though delicately-soft Gyrinno be
 Yet is Mnasidika more fair than she

17

Bergk 48 Edm 53

Dactylic App 34.

μάλα δὲ κεκορημένοις

Γόργῳ

Of their dear Gorgo now
 They've had their fill I trow

18

Bergk, 33, Edm 48

"*Sapphic*," *App* 34

Hephaestion, 45 The fourteen syllable Sapphic, of which consisted the whole of Sappho's second book

Ἡράμαν μὲν ἔγω σέθεν, Ἀτθι, πάλαι ποτά,
(floreā virginitas mea cum foret)
σμίκρα μοι πάις ἔμμεν ἐφαίνεο κᾶχαρις.

1 Cf Ovid, *Heroid*, λν, 18

2 Terent Maurus, 215, 4 See on this Plut *Amat* 5

Long since I loved thee, at what time
I too was in my girlhood's prime:
A little child thou seemedst then,
Atthis, nor marriage-ripe for men.

19*

Bergk, 41, Edm 81

Dactylic Aeolic Tetrameter, *App* 34

Ἀτθι, σοὶ δ' ἔμεθεν μὲν ἀπήχθετο
φροντίσδην, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀνδρομέδαν πότῃ.

Edm, perhaps rightly, makes this fragment follow 46
I put dots before the first line to show that it is not the
beginning of the poem

At this, all thought of me thou now dost hate,
And hoverest ever at Andromeda's gate

20*

Bergk, 71, Edm 73

Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad), *App* 26

Ἡρων ἐξεδίδαξ' ἐκ Γυάρων τὰν ἀννόδρομον

MS ἐξεδίδαξε γυάρων Gyara or Gyaros, a barren island
near Ceos In *Anth Pal* vi, 207, we find αἱ γυάλων
Ναυκράτιδος ναέται, and Hermann wished to read

Where so much is fragmentary and uncertain it is scarcely possible to get any connected sense out of the words that are preserved of this poem. The name Gongyla (for which see 5 above) is happily legible. If $\sigma\hat{\alpha}\mu(a)$ is read correctly in line 7 (but the letters may be read $\tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\mu$), we have to do with some sign given, perhaps by Hermes, whose name occurs again in 140a. We can find some slight indication of the drift of the poem in ll 10-14, where the speaker, perhaps addressing Hermes, swears by the Blessed One ([?] Aphrodite, cf 3¹³) that she no longer likes to be uplifted by prosperity, but would gladly die and go

22a, b

Bergk, 77, Edm 116 O λ Pap 1787 44 = P Halle 2
Ionic or Choriambic, Aph 30

Hephaestion 69 quotes this line after 16.

(a) Ἀσσαροτέρας οὐδάμα πω, Εἴρηννα, σέθεν τύχοισαν

A fragment found at Oxyrhynchus, which begins with the word *τύχοισα* at the end of a line, has been supposed to give the continuation of this passage, though lines 2-6, as Grenfell and Hunt point out, read like the invocation to a deity

(b)

	τύχοισα
	θέλ' ὦν τὰ παῖσαν
	[τε]λεσον νόημα
	ετων κάλημι
5	πεδὰ θῦμον αἶψα
	ὅσσα τύχην θελήσῃ[s]
	[πα]ρ' ἔμοι μάχεσθαι
	χλιδάνα 'πίθειςα

1 Edm reads Εἴρηννα ἐπι τύχοισα Bergk

2 Or τ' ἀπαῖσαν

3 MS νόημα

10

ι σὺ δ' εὖ γὰρ οἶσθα
 ἔτει τα ἱλλε
 ελασ

(Σαπ[φοῦς]
 με[λῶν] δ')

These last words (Ox Pap 1787 45) may belong here.

9 For γὰρ Vitelli sees ~~μεφ~~ in his MS

(a) Never Laranna did I see
 A bore to be compared with thee

(b) This fragment part of the Oxyrhynchus papyri was evidently abstracted from the rest of the find and conveyed to Germany where it now is. But no connected sense can be extracted out of its mutilated lines. What faint glimpses we get of the meaning recall the Invocation to Aphrodite (*Fragm* 3) If the subscription belonged here and is rightly transcribed this poem came from Sappho's fourth book Hephaestion tells us that (a) was an instance of the Aeolic tetrameter or *Ionic a maiore* with full conclusion consisting of three ionics and a trochaic dipody

23

Bergk 69 Edm 72

Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad) App 26

Οὐδ' ἴαν δοκίμῳ προσίδουσιν φάος ἄλλῳ
 ἔσσεσθαι σοφίαν πάρθενον εἰς οὐδενὸν πω χρόνον
 τοιαύταν

2 ~~σοφ~~ MS. Possibly for ~~σοφ~~ see Lobel, p. xxi and *Fragm*. 24

I deem that of all maids that see the sun
 As skilled *in song* as thou shall ne'er be one

2 *σοφός* is often used of artistic skill.

24

Bergk, 68, Edm 71

Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad), Aphr 26

Plutarch, *Præc Coniug*, 48, *Symp* 1v, 1, 2; and
Stobæus *Floril*, 1v, 12 *Πρὸς τινὰ πλουσίαν καὶ ἀπαίδευ-*
τον γυναῖκα

κατθάνοισα δὲ κείσεται, οὐδ' ἔτι τις μναμοσύνα σέθεν
ἔσσειτ' οὐδέποτ' [εἰς] ὕστερον · οὐ γὰρ πεδέχεις βρόδων
τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας, ἀλλ' ἀφάνης κῆν Ἀῖδα δόμοις
φοιτάσεις πεδ' ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα

3 δόμω Fick see Lobel, p 1111

Plutarch · Sappho to a rich uneducated woman —

Dying, thou shalt die for ever,
None shall e'er remember thee,
For in life thou pluckest never
Roses from Pieria's tree

But within dark Hades' portals
Thou shalt surely be unknown,
Flitting with the Shades of mortals
As inglorious as thine own

Gerstenhauer takes ἐκπεποτ to mean "bereft of life"
or "sense", which is perhaps more accurate Cf
Theocr 11, 19, 21, 7

25

Bergk, 10^a, Edm 11

Prose paraphrase

Aristides, 11, 508 *Σαπφὼ πρὸς τινὰς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων εἶναι*
δοκουσῶν γυναικῶν μεγαλαυχουμένη καὶ λέγουσα,

ὥς αὐτὴν αἱ Μοῦσαι τῷ ὄντι ὀλβίαν τε καὶ
ζηλωτὴν ἐποίησαν, καὶ ὥς οὐδ' ἀποθανούσης
ἔσται λήθη

Cf Plut *Praec Coniug* 48 ἡ Σαπφώ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι καλλιγραφίαν ἐφρόνει τηλικούτον ὥστε γράψαι

Aristides Sappho to certain women reputed well to do said boastingly —

To me the Muses truly gave
An envied and a happy lot
E'en when I lie within the grave
I cannot shall not be forgot

26

Bergk, 29 Edm 120

Alcaic? *Apρ* 21

Athenaeus *κ*iii 564 Πρὸς τὸν υπερβαλλόντως θαυμαζομένον τὴν μορφήν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενον

Στᾶθ' [ἐμφάνης μοι] κᾶντα φίλος [φίλου]
καὶ τὰν ἐπ' ὅσοις ὀμπέτασον χάριν

Athenaeus To a man excessively admired for his appearance and reckoned to be a beauty

Stand *fair before me* friend and face to face
And in thine eyes unveil the hidden grace.

27

(1) Bergk Alcaeus 55

Sapphic with anacrusis *Apρ* 20

(2) Bergk 28 Edm 119

Alcaic *Apρ* 20

Alcaeus to Sappho The first line is from Hephaestion 80 and the second from Aristotle *Rhet* 1 9 The metre is Sapphic with anacrusis —

(1) *Ιόπλοκ* ἀγνα μελλιχόμεϊδα Σάπφοι
θέλω τ' εἶπην ἀλλά με κωλυεῖ αἰδώς

Sappho's answer —

Αἰ δ' ἦχες ἔσλων ἱμερον ἦ κάλων,
καὶ μήτι τ' εἶπην γλῶσσ' ἐκύκα κάκον,
αἶδως κέ σ' οὐ [κάτ]ηχεν ὄππατ',
ἀλλ' ἔλεγες περὶ τῷ δικαίως

2 Anna Comnena, *Alex*, xv, 486, attributes this last half line to Sappho Stephanus (Cramer *Anecd* Paris, i, 266) says the *dialogue* is by Sappho

3 Melhorn for MS εἶχεν

Headlam (JHS, vol. xlii, 1902) says: "If a woman desired while uttering a reproof in words to acknowledge and refuse a compliment, would she use her own metre or his?"

Alcaeus to Sappho —

Pure gently-smiling Sappho, violet-crowned,
Fain would I speak, but shame my lips hath bound

Sappho to Alcaeus —

If noble words and fair had been thy will,
Nor had thy tongue therewith been mingling ill,
Shame had not veiled thy faltering eyes,
And thou hadst spok'n in honest wise

1 Or violet-weaving

28

Bergk, 75, Edm 99

Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad), *Apb* 26

Ἄλλ' ἔων φίλος ἄμμιν λέχος ἄρνῦσο νεώτερον,
οὐ γὰρ τλάσομ' ἔγω συνφοῖκην ἔσσα γεραιτέρα

1 For ἄρνῦσο, or read ἄρνυσσο Bergk, ἄλλο before λέχος and νέω γ' before ἔσσα (one MS νέ οὔσα), which seems required

2 Cf συνF Schneidewin but reading and metre are quite uncertain

This is supposed by some to refer to Alcaeus, but he was older than Sappho, see p 187



ALCAEUS AND SAPPHO
(From the Crater at Munich)

If love for us be in thy heart some younger woman wed
 For tis no aged woman s part to share a young man s bed
 Cf Shak. Twelfth Night ii 4 30

29*

Bergk 35 Edm 51

Logaoedic App 34.

Ἄλλαν μοι μεγαλυνέο δακτυλίῳ πέρι.

Hoffmann Ἄλλ αρ Possibly ἄλλαν = elsewhither
 cf κατέταν 80₂. Edm ἄλλ ὄν (= ἀνδ) μή

To other ears I pray pride in thy ring display

30*

Bergk 110 Edm 93

Logaoedic App 34

Ἄλλα μὴ κάμε τι στερ[έ]αν φρένα.

MS ἄλλαν Lunák reads ἀλλὰ μὲν κάμπτει (cf also
 Edm)

Fond girl faint not nor yield

Let thy firm heart be steel d

31

Ox Pap 1231 10 Edm. 42

Sapphic App 16

λ ἐπαβολ ἦσ

ν δόλοφυν ει

τρομέροις πρ λλα

5

χροά γῆρας ἦδη

ν ἀμφιβάσκει

ς πέταται διωκων

1 Wilam. χαλῶσα βόλησ

2 Hesych. δόλοφος δόλοφος Lobel divides νδ δλοφυν

3 Sc. μέλεισι σι γυλῶσι

5 Cf Ox. Pap. 1787 2₁₂. After φδγ MS. has ε or κ in margin.

10 ἰο ἡ ἀγαυή
μα· λάβοισα
ἄεισον ἄμμι

τὰν ἰόκολπον

ρων μάλιστα
ας π[λ]άναται

15

11 See Bergk, *Alc* 63

12 1 e Aphrodite

The poem is too mutilated for us even to guess its drift. If, however, ll 11 and 12 are correctly transferred from Alcaeus (*Fragm* 63 Bergk), Aphrodite would again be the theme, and perhaps old age alluded to as the enemy of love.

32

Ox Pap 1231, 13, Edm 43

Sapphic, App 16

ἀνάγ
 ἐμνάσσεσθ' ἄ[σσα]
 . . ἄμμες ἐν νεό[τατι]
 ἐπόημμεν
 5 μεν γὰρ καὶ κά[λα]
 μεν πολὺ
 [χ]ο[ρ]εΐαις δ'

2 Włiam

3 Cf 7₁₁

5 [πόλλα]μεν Wilam

6 [εἶχο]μεν or [πάσχο]μεν Diehl

The little that is left to us of this poem enables us only to gather that it was probably addressed to one of Sappho's girl friends, and it recalls pieces 6 and 7 above

33*

Bergk 14 Edm 14

Sapphic App 16

ταις κάλαις ὑμῖν τὸ νόημα τῶμον
οὐ δάμειπτον

Fair comrades mine to you
My thought is ever true

34

Bergk 11 Edm. 12

Sapphic App 16

τάδε ἰὺν ἐταίραις
ταις ἐμαῖσι τέρπνα κάλως αἰέσω

With these songs shall my voice
My comrades hearts rejoice.

35*

Bergk 21 Edm 124

Logaoedic? App 24

ἐμεθεν δ' ἔχισθα λάθαν
and of me you are wholly forgetful

36

Bergk 22 Edm 22

Sapphic App 16

ἢ τίν' ἄλλον
[μᾶλλον] ἀνθρώπων ἔμεθεν φίλησθα.

1 The ἢ is perhaps due to Apollonius, who quotes the line

Or what man can there be
Thou lovest more than me?



THE HEAD IN THE UFFIZI GALLERY AT FLORENCE
(From photograph sent me by the Directors)

- 4 They make me most of all to grieve
Who kindness at my hands receive

11 And in myself I know this well

38

Ox. Pap 1787 6

Ionian? Aph 32

- σε Μίκα
- ελα [ἀλ]λα σ' εγὼνὲκ ἰάσω
ν φίλό[τατ] ηλικο Πειθιλήαν
δα κα[κὸ]τροπ' αμμα[ς]
5 μέλος τι γλυκερον
α μελλιχόφαν[ος]
[αεὶ]δ' αὖ λίγυραι δ' ἀη[δοί]
δροσόεσσα

3 Adj sc. παῖδες Cf. Edm., Alc. 75

4 MS. κα τροπῇ

6 Cf. 160

Here only in all that remains to us of Sappho do we find any reference to the political parties or affairs of Mitylene which loom so large in the poetry of Alcaeus. The daughters of Penthilus here alluded to belonged to the Lesbian clan to which Pittacus the dictator was allied by his marriage with the sister of Dracon son of Penthilus

Mica if we take the word as a proper name is not likely say Drs. Grenfell and Hunt to be the person to whom the poem is addressed for the accent in that case would more probably be a circumflex. They suggest that the meaning of the sentence may be Mica wishes to bring you here but I will not receive you. The unintelligible reference to singers and sweet voiced nightingales at the end is tantalizing

39

Ox Pap 1787, 7 Lobel, p 32

Ionian ² *Apb* 32

[κα]ὶ γάρ μ' ἀπὸ τᾶς .
 [ῥ]μωσ δ' ἔγεν
 ἴσαν' θέοισιν
 ασαν ἀλίτρα

5

[Ἄν]δρομέδαν .

τα . κα . . .

τρόπον ἀ κύνη

ορον οὐ κάτισ[χεν]

Τυνδαρίδαι[ς]

10 ασυ κα[ὶ] χαρίειτ' ἀ . .

. κ' ἄδολον [μ]ήκετι συν .

β λη

μεγαρά να α .

3 Cf 6₂, 141₁₈, 141₂₁

6 The letters between τα and κα are μα or ια

12 μεγ read in the MS by Lobel

Though this poem was very probably addressed to one of Sappho's circle, it is not likely that Andromeda is her rival, of whom we have heard before (14, 59) She is more likely to be the legendary heroine (see also Ovid, *Heroid* xv, 36) The mention of the Tyndarids points in the same direction, if these fragments go together

40

Ox Pap 1231, 14, Edm 44

Sapphic, *Apb* 16

Of the preceding stanza of this Sapphic Ode we have only three or four letters at the end of the third line εῖρ[ωτος] ἦδη

5 . [ὥς γὰρ . ἄν]τιον εἰσίδω σε

. . Ἑρμιοῖα τοαύ[τα]

4 Possibly ἦλπ or ἦλγ

6 Or τεαύτα

[οὔδαμα] ξάνθα δ' Ἑλίη σ' εἶσ[κ]ην
[οὔδεν αει]κές

10 [αἰ θέ]μις θνάταις τόδε δ' ἰσ[θι] τῇ σῇ
παῖσαν κέ με τὴν μερμήναν
λαῖς ἀντιδ' αθοῖς δέ

15 [τῆ]ν σε
ντας οχθοῖς
ταῖν

[παν]νυχ[σ]ο[δ]η[ι]

8 Herod. iii 24

9 μ may be ϵ or λ . The digamma of *ισθι* is disregarded. This occurs also in other words.

13 From Scholiast; see Edm. *ad loc* Grenf. and Hunt read
τ αοτ

This might well be part of an epithalamium

5-9 For when I look upon thee face to face
Hermione seems not for all her grace
As fair as thou nor far amiss twould be
In this my song O Friend to liken thee
If mortals to the gods we may compare
To royal Helen of the golden hair

Cf Ovid *Ars Amat* ii 644.

41

Oc. Pap 1787 1 Bergk 79 Edm 118

Ionian App 30

Athenaeus xv 687 A Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἰσθε τὴν ἀβρότητα
χωρὶς ἀρετῆς ἔχειν τι τρυφεροῖ Σαπφῶ γυνὴ μὲν πρὸς
ἀλήθειαν οὔσα καὶ ποιήτρια ὅμως ἠδύσθη τὸ καλὸν τῆς
ἀβρότητας ἀφελεῖν λέγουσα ὧδε (viz the two complete

lines 24, 25 given below) φανερόν ποιούσα πᾶσιν ὥς ἡ
τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμία τὸ λαμπρόν καὶ τὸ καλὸν εἶχεν αὐτῇ
ταῦτα δέ ἐστιν οἰκεία τῆς ἀρετῆς

	λεσσα	ιδ' α
	πέρι	
	εικε	να
		[θ]ιγοῖσα
5		ιδ' ἄχθην
	χυ θίοι ἄλλ	[α]ῦταν
	ἄ τιλ	εισα
	· ένα τὰν	αν ὕμον σ'
		νι θῆται στύμα[σι] πρόκοψιν
10		πων κάλα δῶρα παῖδες
		[ὦ]φίλ', ᾄδον λιγύραν χελύνναν
		[πά]ντα χροά γῆρας ἦδη
		[λεῦκαι δ' ἐγένο]ντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν
		αι γόνα δ' οὐ φέροισι
15		ῆσθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισιν
		ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποείην ,
		οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι
		βροδόπαχυν Αὔων
		κατὰ γᾶς φέροισα
20		ον ὕμωσ ἔμαρψεν
		άταν ἄκοιτιν
		φθιμέναν νομίσδει
		αἰς ὀπάσδοι

1 The three words on the left margin are given by Dr Grenfell and Dr Hunt as Frag 2 (a) The rest as Fragg 1 and 2

8 The first α is marked long in the manuscript

12 Cf Ox Pap 1231, 10b

13 Editors of Ox Pap

14 Cf Alcman, 26

17 Cf Ox Pap 1231, 1, 1, 33

18 Cf 51₂ for another beautiful epithet for dawn see also πότνια αὔωσ, Bergk, 153

21 Hor, Od 11, 14, 21

ἔγω δὲ φίλημ ἀβροσύναν [ἴσθι γε] τοῦτο καὶ μοι
 25 τὸ λάμπρον ἔρωσ αἰλίω καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλογχε
 ἐπιν νό
 φίλει
 καὶ ν

Edm. reads *τερπιν* for *τροφερόν* in Athenaeus

24 MS. *φίλημ*.

25 MS. *ἔρωσ* which is the usual Aeolic form but see 40, where Wilam. conjectures *ἔρωτες* and cf. Ox. Pap. 1787 11.

Athenaeus Do you think that delicate living without virtue brings any comfort? Why Sappho who was a woman if ever there was one and a poetess nevertheless shrank from divorcing delicacy of life from honour for she makes it clear to all that for her the joy of life contained in itself that which was splendid and that which was honourable and these are concomitants of virtue.

Though Athenaeus has no doubt as to Sappho's meaning and says that she has made it clear to all yet some editors consider that Athenaeus is entirely mistaken in a matter which was within his competence and that Sappho was thinking of physical brightness and beauty

From what is left to us of the three and twenty preceding lines of this piece we can form some idea of Sappho's meaning in it. She appears to be speaking of the charms of music as alleviating the sadness which the approach of old age brings with it when the bright hues of youth give place to the wanness of old age black hair turns to white and joints once as supple and as nimbly as a fawn's can no longer join in the dance.

But what can the victim do? Age must follow youth as darkness in its turn follows dawn The time cannot but come for all when earth and its joys must be left behind.

Then Sappho goes on somewhat defiantly to say in the words which Athenaeus quotes with approval, pointing the moral to those who are dining with him —

Know this !

All delicate things do I love, and joy in the sunlight
above

Hath ever with me had a share, in all that is noble and
fair

42

Bergk, 17 ; Edm 17, 18

Sapphic, *App* 16

κατ' ἔμον στέλαγμον
τὸν δ' ἐπιπλάζοντ' ἄνεμοι φέροιεν
καὶ μελεδῶναις

1 Hor , *Od* 1, 26, 1, tristitiam et metus Tradam protervis portare ventis Lines 1, and 2, 3 are separate quotations joined by Hoffmann

. in the drip, drip, of pain ,
Which, when it comes, and all my care
Far from my breast may swift winds bear !

43

Bergk, 36 , Edm 52.

" *Sapphic* " of 14 Syllables, *App* 34

οὐκ οἶδ' ὅττι θέω δύο μοι τὰ νοήματα

For phrase cf Aristaenetus, 1, 6 δίχα μοι γέγονε τὰ νοήματα

I know not what to do were best,
Two thoughts contend within my breast

44

Bergk, 72 , Edm 74

Choriambic (*Lesser Asclepiad*), *App* 28

ἀλλὰ τις οὐκ ἐμμι παλιγκότων
οργαν ἄλλ ἄβάκην τὰν φρέν ἔχω

1 Edm. denies the possibility of such a genit. of quality at this date, and he reads *παλιγκοτος* with Ursinus.

No rancour in my bosom sways
Gentle and chuldlke are my ways

45

Edmonds 89 Wilam. *Sappho* 11 *Simonides* 51
Diehl. 18

Julian (*Epist ad Iamblichum* 60) Ἦλθες καὶ
ἐποίησας ἦλθες γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπὼν οἷς γράφεις ἐγὼ δὲ σ
ἐμαόμαν ἀν δ' ἐφύλαξας ἐμὴν φρένα καιομένην πόθῳ
χαῖρε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν πολλὰ κάθαπερ ἢ καλὴ Σαπφῶ
φῆσιν καὶ οὐκ ἰσάριθμα μόνον τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἀλλήλων
ἀπελείφθημεν ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ αἰεὶ χαῖρε

Sapphic of 14 Syllables Arph 34

Ἦλθες εὖ δ' ἐποίησας ἐγὼ δὲ σ ἐμαόμαν
ὃν δ' ἐφύλαξας ἐμὴν φρένα καιομένην πόθῳ
χαῖρε δ' ἄμμι [σὺ] πόλλ' ἰσαριθμὰ τε τῷ χρόνῳ
[ἔσσουν ἀλλάλων ἀπελείφθημεν]

MS μὰ ὤμων

1 Or ἐμαόμαν

2 Edm. = ἐφύλαξας or ἐφύλαξ 1 for ἐφύλαξας Thomas ἐφύλαξας

Julian Thou art come thou hast done well for thou
hast come even though thou art far away in thy letter
I was longing for thee thou hast kept my heart burning
with love To thyself also many a welcome from us
as the beautiful Sappho says and not so many only as the
days we have been parted but indeed a countless welcome

Thou art come it is well for of thee I am fain
Thou hast lighted love's fire in my bosom again.
All hail and all hail to thee heart of my heart
Aye a hail for each year that fate kept us apart.

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ἀπελείφθημεν ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ αἰὶ χαιρε

Sapphic of 14 Syllables App 34

Ἦλθες εὖ δ ἐποίησας ἐγὼ δέ σ ἐμαόμαν
οὐ δ ἐφύλαξας ἐμὰν φρένα καιομένην πόθῳ
χαιρε δ ἄμμι [σὺ] πόλλ ἰσάριθμὰ τε τῷ χρόνῳ
[ἔσσαν ἀλλήλων ἀπελείφθημεν]

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All hail and all hail to thee heart of my heart
Aye a hail for each year that fate kept us apart

46*

Bergk, 40, Edm 81

Aeolic Tetrameter, App 34

"Ερος δαῦτέ μ' ὁ λυσιμέλῃς δόνει
γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον ὄρπετον

1 Hesiod, *Theog* 911, Alcman 36, Bergk, *Carm Popul* 44 For λυσιμ see Archil 85 Cf Hor, *Od* iv, 1, 2, *rursus* for δαῦτε, and for δόνει Moschus, 5, 5, and for γλυκυπ *Theog* 1353, Catull 68, 18 See also Aristoph, *Ecccl.* 954, where he perhaps imitates an epithalamium of Sappho's

Love's palsy yet again my limbs doth wring,
That bitter-sweet resistless creeping thing

2 " Love creeps where it cannot go " Shak, *Two Gent*, iv, 2, 20

47

Bergk, 42, Edm 54

" *Sapphic* " of 14 Syllables, *App 34*

"Ερος δ' ἐτίναξ' ἔμαις
φρένας ὥς ἄνεμος κατ' ὄρος δρύσιν ἐμπέσων

2 Nauck *κατάρης*, as Eustath says Sappho used it with ἄνεμος Hoffmann ἐμπέτων

Love again hath fluttered my heart, as a squall
That down from the hill on the oaks doth fall

As Max Tyr in quoting this compares it to the love of Socrates for Phaedrus, Sappho may be thinking of Anactoria, whom Max Tyr makes parallel to Phaedrus, 24 (18)

48

Bergk, 126, Edm 29

Sapphic, App 16

Julian, *Ep* 18 ἵνα σε,

τὸ μέλημα τῶμον,
ὥς φησιν ἡ Σαπφώ, περιπτύξωμαι

Cf Ovid *Heroid* xv 123 Tu mihi cura.

Julian As Sappho says

O but my arms to twine

About thee darling mine!

The quotation from Sappho may be limited to ὦ μέλημα
τῶμον For thought cf Tennyson *Maid* iii 4.

49*

Bergk 55 Edm 96 Possibly by Alcaeus

Trochaic? *App* 35

Ἀβρα ἴδεῦτε παγχχης πάλαι† ἀλλόμαν

No satisfactory emendation has been proposed

O dainty maid of old *into thine arms* I sprang

50

Bergk 130 Edm. 84a

Sapphic App 16

Libanius *Or* 1 402 (ed Reiske) Σαπφῶ τὴν Λεσβίαν
οὐδὲν ἐκωλύσεν εὐξασθαι

νύκτα διπλασίαν γένεσθαι

For αὕτη which Lib inserts after νύκτα we might read
δ αἰτῶ

Libanius Nothing prevented the Lesbian Sappho
from praying that the night should be for her a double
night Libanius refers to the story of Zeus and
Alcmena, when Heracles was conceived Possibly
though αὕτη is against this the words may come from
an epithalamium

51

Bergk, 18 Edm. 19

Sapphic App 16

Ἀπρίως μ δ χρυσοπέδιλλος αὔως

But now the golden sandal d Dawn

Loeb edition Though I have not felt at liberty to make use of his conjectural restoration, there can be no harm in reproducing in a translation the general sense of what he thinks may have been in the poem

*O Sappho, if thou comest not,
Then shall my love be all forgot
Oh, shine on us, and from thy bed
Set free thy dear-loved lustihead ;
And like marsh lilies by the tide,
Thy Chian peplus laid aside,
Bathe in the stream, and Kleis down
From thy rich stores a saffron gown
Shall bring, thy robe of royal red
And cloak and garlands for thy head .*

56

Bergk, 10, Edm 10

Sapphic, App 16

*Αἷ με τιμίαν ἔποησαν ἔργα
τὰ σφὰ δοῖσαι*

Giving me their gifts of pride,
My name the Muses glorified

57*

Bergk, *Adesp*, p 53, from Plut, *Garr* 5, as an instance of charm like that of Lysias

Choriambic (with basis), App 26

*ἔγω φαῖμι Φιοπλόκων
Μοῖσαν εὖ λάχεμεν*

1 For ἰοπλοκάμων Bergk This fragm is possibly by Alcaeus

Fair is the portion that I claim as mine
With you, O violet-weaving Muses nine



THE SAPHIO OF THE TERME MUSEUM IN ROME
(From photograph by Bernard Ashmole)

58

Bergk 37 Edm 53

Sapphic of 14 Syllables App 34.

φαῦτην δ' οὐ δοκίμωμι ὀράνῳ δυαὶ πάχεσι

MS δυσπαχέα see Bergk. The reading is quite uncertain. Cf Herodas iv 75 θεῶν φαίεω Ps. Callisth ii, 20 ὥσποτε κἀγὼ ἰσόθειον ἔχων κράτος χερσὶν ἐμαῖς οὐρανοῦ ἠθέλησα ψαῦσαι 2 Maccabees ix 10 Touch the stars of heaven Hor *Od* I *ad fin*

Two cubits short am I I ween to touch the sky

Or it may be translated (taking the alternative meaning)

How could I ever dream that I

With my two hands should touch the sky?

59

Bergk 32 Edm 76

Sapphic of 14 Syllables App 34

Μνάσεσθαί τινα φαῖμι καὶ ὕστερον ἄμμεων

ὕστερον for MS ἔταρον Volger This boast became a commonplace from Pindar to Ovid and Horace and Shakespeare *Sonnets* 55 Edmonds thinks this may have been the last poem in Sappho's own edition of her works cf Horace's *Exegi monumentum* at end of his third book.

Mark me! The after days shall see

Those that will still remember me.

59^A*

After quoting the last given line from Sappho Dio Chrysostom (*Orat* 37 *ad fin*) goes on with the following

words, which, as the form *λάθα* seems to show, may be a paraphrase of more that Sappho wrote

*Λάθα μὲν ἤδη τινὰς καὶ ἑτέρους ἔσφηλε καὶ ἐψεύσατο,
γνώμη δ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐδένα*

Metre unknown, but see Edm 77

Some, by forgetfulness undone,
Have of their hopes been quite bereft,
But this was never true of one
To good men's judgment who was left

60*

Bergk, 32ⁿ, Stobaeus, *Floril* 26

"*Sapphic*" of 14 Syllables, *Apb* 34

Λάθα Πιέρισι στυγέρα καὶ ἀνάρσιος

MS *Πιερίδων* and *ἀνάρστος*

Forgotten! 'tis an odious word,
And never by the Muses heard!

61

Bergk, 136, Edm 108

Choriambic (Lesser Asclepiad), *Apb* 28

Maximus Tyrius, 24, 9 *Ἀνθάπτεται Σωκράτης τῇ
Ξανθίππῃ ὀδυρομένη ὅτε ἀπέθνησκεν, ἣ δὲ Σαπφὼ τῇ
θυγατρὶ*

*[Ἄλλ'] οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἐν μοισσοπόλῳ οἰκίᾳ
θρήνον ἔμμεναι οὐκ ἄμμι πρόπει τάδε.*

1 Neue for MS *μουσοπόλων*

2 Dubner *πρέποι*, and Lobel *τάδε πρέποι*

Maximus Tyrius Socrates takes Xanthippe up for lamenting that he was dying, and so Sappho to her daughter (Kleïs)

Never where lovers of the Muses dwell
Should dirges sound for us that were not well

62

Ox. Pap xi 1356

A fragment of Philo (born about 20 B C) speaking of Philosophy

[Σαπ]φοῦς εὐβουλία φησὶ γὰρ
θεοὶ δ κερσω τι κα δακ θε ηλ ηλα

εὐβουλία i.e. περὶ θεῶν τι κα δα—possibly τι καλῶν

If this mutilated passage is rightly referred to Sappho (for which see Pauly Wissowa, article *Sappho* 1920 ed.) we would gladly have known how her views about the gods showed her good sense and we may compare *Fragm* 64.

63

Bergk 101 Edm. 58

Logaoedic? *App* 34.

Galen *Protrepti* 8 *Αμεινον οὖν ἐστὶν ἐγνωκότας τὴν μὲν τῶν μεираκλίων ὥραν τοῖς ἡρώοις ανθεσιν δοικυιαν ὀλιγοχροτίον τε τὴν τέριψιν ἔχουσιν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τὴν Λεσβίαν λέγουσαν*

ὁ μὲν γὰρ κάλος ὅσον ἴδην πέλεται [κάλος]

ο δὲ καγαθος αὐτικα καὶ κάλος ἔσσεται

Galen adds that Solon says much the same as Sappho

1 Some think this may be part of a bridal song

Galen It is therefore better knowing as we do that the blooming time of the young is like the spring flowers and its enjoyment as transitory to applaud the Lesbian too when she says —

He that is fair fair only is to see

He that is good fair too shall straightway be

Weir Smyth aptly quotes Ben Jonson's "How near to good is what is fair!"

64

Bergk, 137, Edm 91

Choriambic (Lesser Asclepiad) ? *Apφ* 28

Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, II, 33 Ὡσπερ Σαπφώ "Ὅτι τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν κακόν οἱ θεοὶ γὰρ οὕτω κεκρίκασιν ἀπέθνησκον γὰρ ἄν, εἴπερ ἦν καλὸν τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν

Τὸ θναίσκην κάκον οὕτω κεκρίκαισι θεοὶ
ἔθναισκόν κε γάρ, αἵπερ κάλον ἦν τόδε

I follow Hartung except *κε* for *ἄν*, but it is all very doubtful For *θεοὶ*, cf 140a₂

Aristotle. As Sappho says Death is an evil, for so the gods have decided, for they would have died, had death been good

Death is an ill, 'tis thus the Gods decide
For had death been a boon, the Gods had died

65

Bergk, 27, Edm 137

Dactylic tetrameter, or Adonius, Apφ 17

Plutarch, *Coh I* 1a, 7 Ἐν ὀργῇ δὲ σεμνότερον οὐδὲν ἡσυχίας, ὥς ἡ Σαπφώ παραινεῖ

Σκιδναμένας ἐν στήθεσιν ὄργας
μαψυλάκαν γλώσσαν πεφύλαχθαι

2 Inf for imper or read *πεφύλαξο*

Plutarch In anger there is nothing more dignified than silence, as Sappho warns us —

With anger when the breast is wrung,
Curb thou the idly-barking tongue

66

Bergk 80 Edm 100

Choriambic App 26

The Scholiast on Pindar *Ol* ii 96 where the poet is speaking of the advantages of wealth set off with virtues points out that the one without the other is not nearly so desirable and quotes the following lines. Plutarch also *De Nobilitate* § 5 shows the dependence of *εὐγένεια* upon *αρετή* and quotes (in the Latin translation) —

Opes citra virtutis eximium decus | Domum male incolunt
 sin his immisceas | Felicitas hinc summa belle nascitur

Ὁ γὰρ πλοῦτος ἀνὲν τῆς ἀρέτας οὐκ ἀσίνης παροικὸς
 α ὁ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων κρᾶσις ἔχει τακρον [δὲ βρότοισιν]
 [τᾶς] εὐδαιμονίας

Of the *De Nobil* we have only a Latin translation subsequently itself turned into Greek. Cf also Plut *Liber Educ* 5 *Εὐγένεια* καλὸν μὲν ἀλλὰ προγόνων αγαθὸν πλοῦτος δὲ τίμιον μὲν ἀλλὰ τύχης κτήμα. Also Callim *Hymn to Zeus* 95

The wealth that has no share in worth
 Is no safe inmate of our hearth
 But when the two are blent in one
 The height of happiness is won

From Plutarch in the Latin version —

An evil partner of our home
 Is wealth divorced from virtue & grace
 But if they thither blended come
 True happiness shall there have place

67

Bergk 141 142 Edm 110

Pausanias vii 18 5 Καθαρευειν τὸν χρυσὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ἰοῦ ἢ ποιητρία μάρτυς ἐστὶν ἡ Λεσβία

Scholast, Pindar, *Pyth* 1v, 407 ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς ἄφθαρτος
καὶ ἡ Σαπφώ [] ὅτι 'Διὸς παῖς ὁ χρυσός, κείνον οὐ
σῆς οὐδὲ κίς δάπτει'

The words quoted are probably Pindar's (*Frag* 207)
and Sappho's words have dropped out

Pausanias The Lesbian poetess is witness that gold
is untarnished by rust

Scholast to Pindar Gold is indestructible, as Sappho
also sings [], for "gold is a child of Zeus, no moth
nor worm can eat it away".

For ever gold doth gold remain,
No rust or mould its sheen can stain

68

Bergk, 114, Edm 78

Choriambic ?

Μὴ κίνη χέραδας

MS μὴ κενὴ χέραδος We might read χέραδος *neut*

Stir not the shingle on the shore

69

Bergk, 113, Edm 106

? *Choriambic*, *Apb* 34

Diogenianus, *Proν* 1, 279 Ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ βουλομένων
παθεῖν τι φαῦλον μετὰ ἀμαθῶν

Μήτ' ἔμοι μέλι μήτε μελίσσαις

μελίσσαις acc plur

Diogenianus On those who will not have "a rose for
its thorns"

No honey for me, if it comes with a bee



THE OXFORD BUST IN THE ASHMOLEAN
(Front view)

70

Bergk 148 Edm. 92

Logaoedic?

Eustathius *Orusc* 345 52 Οὐ πόρνη κατὰ τὴν
Ιεριχουτίαν ἐκείνην φίλια τις δηλαδὴ πολυρῆμβαστος
καὶ

κάλον δόκεισα (εἴποι αὖ ἡ Σαπφώ) δαμόσιον ἀλλὰ καὶ
καθαρά

Edmonds thinks that *πολυρ* may be part of the
quotation and this is quite possible

Eustathius Not a harlot like the famous one of
Jericho a friendship that is of a roving kind

A boon it seems that all may share

(as Sappho would say) but even a pure one.

Cf Shak *Sonnets* 137 6 A bay where all men ride.

71*

Bergk 52 Edm 111

Logaoedic or possibly Ionic App 19 and 31

Δέδυκε μὲν αὖ σελάννα
καὶ Πληιάδες μέσαι δὲ
νύκτες παρὰ δ' ἔρχεται ὥρα
ἐγὼ δὲ μόνα κατεύδω

Possibly based upon a folk-song Cf. 53

71

The Moon and Pleiades have set,

Midnight is nigh

The time is passing passing yet

Alone I lie

72

Bergk, 4, Edm 4

Sapphic, Apb 16

Hermogenes, *Rhet Graec*, III, 315, ed Walz Τὰς μὲν οὐκ αἰσχροῦς (τῶν ἡδονῶν) ἔστιν ἀπλῶς ἐκφράζειν, οἷον κάλλος χωρίου καὶ φυτείας διαφορὰν καὶ ῥευμάτων ποικιλίαν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τῇ ὄψει προσβάλλει ἡδονὴν ὁρώμενα καὶ τῇ ἀκόῃ ὅτε ἐξαγγέλλει τις ὥσπερ ἡ Σαπφώ καὶ ὅσα πρὸ τούτων γε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἴρηται

ἀμφὶ δ' ὕδωρ

[ἤρεμα] ψῦχρον κελάδει δι' ὕσδων
μαλίνων, αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων
κῶμα κατάρρει

Cf Hor, *Ephod* 11, 17, Frondesque (MS fontes) lymphis obstrepunt manantibus, somnos quod invitet leves See also Lucian, *Philops* Edm, excellently, ψῦχρον ὤνεμος

Hermogenes on Sweetness of Style All pleasures that are not disgraceful can be spoken of simply, such as the natural beauty of a place, the variety of trees, the attractive diversity of streams, and all such things For they afford pleasure to the sight when seen, and to the ear, when one describes them, as Sappho in the following words . and in what precedes and follows —

And all around

Mid apple boughs cool waters sound,

And from the rustling leaves o'erhead

Deep sleep is shed

Possibly a garden of the Nymphs is meant, see 161

73*

Bergk, *Adesp* 104^a, Edm 133*Ionic (irregular), Apb* 31

Demetrius *Eloc* 164 Τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὖχαρι μετα κόσμου
ἀκφέρεται καὶ δι ὀνομάτων καλῶν α μάλιστα ποιῇ τὰς
χάριτας ὁλοντόν

ποικίλλεται μὲν γαῖα πολυστέφανος

Demetrius Charm is brought out in association with
ornament and by means of beautiful words which con-
duce most of all to such graces of style for instance —

The Earth in many a garland fair
Its varied livery now doth wear

74

Bergk 30 Edm 139

Hexameters? with basis App 33

χρύσειοι δ ἐρέβινθοι ἐπ αἰόνων ἐφύοντο
And clustered in their golden pride
Grew vetches by the water side.

75

Bergk, 3 Edm. 3

Sapphic App 16

Ἀστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνταν
ἄφ ἀποκρυπτοῖσι φάεινον εἶδος
ὅπποτα πλήθοισα μάλιστα λάμπη
γῶν [ἐπὶ παισιν]

Julian *Ep* 19 Σαπφῶ ἢ καλὴ τὴν σελήνην ἀργυρέαν
φῆσι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἀλλων ἀστέρων ἀποκρύπτειν τὴν οὐσιν

2. Cf. Hor *Od* 1 12 45 Edmonds reads λάμψη ἀργυρία γῆ

Stars veil their beauty soon
Beside the glorious moon
When her full silver light
Doth make the whole earth bright

76

Bergk, 53 Edm. 112 Ox. Pap 220 9

Ionics (irregular) App 22 31

Πλήρης μὲν φαίνεται ἡ σελάννα,
αἱ δ' ὥς περὶ βῶμον ἐστάθησαν . .

Heph 36, calls this metre Praxillean Ionic Trimeter brachycatalectic

Full rose the moon upon the maiden band,
And, as they round the altar took their stand . .

77

Bergk, 121, Edm. 107

Logaoedics (Greater Asclepiad), Apḗ 26

Clearchus (*circa* 300 B C) apud Athenaeum, xii, 554 :
Φυσικὸν γὰρ δὴ τι τὸ τοὺς οἰομένους εἶναι καλοὺς καὶ ὠραίους
ἀνθολογεῖν . ὅθεν καὶ Σαπφῷ φησιν ἰδεῖν κ τ λ

Ἄνθε' ἀμέργοισαν ἴδον παῖδ' ἀπάλαν ἔγω ἴδον
Hoffm

Clearchus For, indeed, it is natural that those who think themselves beautiful and in their bloom should gather flowers, and Sappho says

A maid full tender did I see,
Picking the wild flowers on the lea.

78

Bergk, 73, Edm 67.

Metre unknown, Apḗ 24

Scholast Aristoph, *Thesm* 401 Νεωτέρων καὶ
ἐρωτικῶν τὸ στεφανηπλοκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἔθος, ὅτι ἐστεφανη-
πλόκου αἱ παλαιαί Σαπφῷ.

Αὗται ὠραῖαι στεφανηπλόκην

Hoffmann for MS αὐταυρααι στεφανηπλόκοον Edm.
reads αἱ τ' ὄρααι

Wilam αὐτὰ ὠραία . he says these words undoubtedly belong to *Fragm* 28 (Bergk, 75) see *Sappho u. Simon*, p 48ⁿ.

Scholast, Aristophanes The weaving of garlands was the occupation of the young and of lovers It was the ancient custom for women to weave the garlands.

So Sappho —

Fair maids in their love
Many a garland wove.

79

Bergk 16 Edm. 16

Sapphic App 16

The Scholiast on Pindar *Pyth* 1 10 contrasts the picture of the eagle of Zeus lulled to sleep by music and this of the doves by Sappho

ταισι [δὲ] ψυχρὸς μὲν ἔγεντο θυμός
πάρ δ' ἴησι τὰ πτέρυγα.

Fick reads ψαυκρός = swift or light from Hesychius as the Scholiast draws a strong contrast ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου between the two pictures. But there is no proof that ψαυκρός was used metaphorically and there seems no particular reason why lightness of heart should make the doves slacken their pinions.

We get the contrast between the doves and the eagle well enough perhaps if we take the chill of death to be the cause of the former slackening their wings without reading ψαυκρός.

Death's cold to their hearts struck chill
And their wings dropt down and were still

80*

Bergk *Alc* 39 Edm. 94 Wilam. S 11 S 61

Logaoedic? App 24

Demetrius *Eloc* 142 Γίνονται καὶ ἀπὸ λέξεως χάριτες
ἡ ἐκ μεταφορᾶς ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τέττιγος

πτερυγῶν ὑπακακχέει λυγύραν δοῖδαν
οἴπποτα φλόγιον κατέταν ἐπιπτάμενον καταύλει.

2 κατέταν for κ θέταν (= ἀν καθέτως) καταύλει Finckh MS.
καταυδαίη

Demetrius Graces of style arise also from the language used, or from a metaphor, as that of the cricket —

His shrill notes from beneath his wings
Outpoured, the sweet cicada sings,
What time he charms away the fiery heat,
That on the shimmering earth doth beat

81

Bergk, 127, Edm 90

Metre unknown

Aristides, 1, 425 'Γάνος', οὐ 'διαφθείρον τὰς ὄψεις',
ὥς ἔφη Σαπφώ, ἀλλ' αὐξὼν καὶ στέφον (sc τὴν πόλιν) . .
'ὕακινθίνῳ μὲν ἄνθει' οὐδαμῶς 'ὁμοῖον', ἀλλ' οἷον οὐδὲν
πώποτε γῆ καὶ ἥλιος ἔφηναν

2 Cf Hom, *Od* vi, 231

Aristides "Sheen" that does not "blind the sight",
as Sappho says, but strengthens it in no way "like
the hyacinth flower"

The sheen that like the hyacinth's hue
Dazzles the eye

82*

Bergk, 54, Edm 114, Heph quotes the first two lines
separately from the third (§§ 68, 70) without ascribing
either to Sappho

Ionic, Aðð 32

Κρῆσσαι νύ ποτ' ὦδ' ἐμμελέως πόδεσσιν
ὦρχηντ' ἀπάλοις ἀμφ' ἐρόεντα βῶμον,
ποίας τέρεν ἄνθος μάλακον μάτεισαι

1 Cf Apoll Rhod 1, 443, 456

2 Cf Hesiod, *Theog*, ad init

3 Hom, *Od* ix, 449

Thus oft of old in measure meet
The Cretan maids with delicate feet '
Danced, danced the lovely altar round
Upon the soft smooth grassy ground

83

Bergk 88 Edm 122

Ionic a minore App 31

Hephaestion 72 says that the whole poem from which his quotation was taken was in the *Ionic a minore* metre (Hor *Od* iii 12) a favourite with Sappho

Τί με Πανδίωνος ὠραῖνα χελιδὼν

Οὐ ὦ πάντα χελιδὼν Isaac Voss

What thoughts to me Pandion's child doth bring
The heaven haunting swallow of the spring?

On a red figured amphora from Vulci a youth seeing a swallow cries *Ἰδού χελιδωνί* a man sitting near joins in with *Νῆ τὸν Ηρακλέα* and a boy pointing upwards says *Αὐτῇ*. On the left are the words *ἔαρ ἦοι*

84

**Ἦρος ἀγγελὸς ἡμεροφῶτος δῆδω*

Bergk 39 Edm 138

Dactylic App 33

Or *ἦρος* Cf Ben Jonson *Sad Shepherd* The
nightingale the angel of the spring
The sweet voiced nightingale
Spring's harbinger all hail!

85

Ox Pap 1231 9 Edm. 41

Sapphic App 16

ἰπίδεςμα

ε γάνος δὲ καὶ

τύχα σὺν ἔσλα

ος κρέτῃσαι

γὰρ μελαίνας

	.	.	.	.	.	[οὐκ ἔθ]έλοισι ναῦται
	.	.	.	.	.	[με]γάλαις ἀήταις
10	.	.	.	.	.	[ἄλ]α καπὶ χέρσω
	
	.	.	.	.	.	[ἄ]μοθεν πλέοι[μι]
	.	.	.	.	.	δὲ τὰ φόρτι' εἰκ
	.	.	.	.	.	ν ἄτιμ' ἐπεὶ κ.
15	.	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.	.	ῥέοντι πόλλ.
	.	.	.	.	.	αι δέκε[σθαι]
	.	.	.	.	.	ει . . .
	
20	.	.	.	.	.	ιν ἔργα
	.	.	.	.	.	χέρσω
	.	.	.	.	.	γα
	

16 Or πομπ

17 Perhaps δέκα as Lobel

20 Cf Ox Pap 1231, 2, 8 ιν ἔργων

This poem, of which we only possess a few words near the end of each line, was evidently a song relating to the sea, possibly describing a storm at sea. Had we recovered it, it could not fail to have been an interesting example of Sappho's descriptive style.

86

Ox Pap 1787, 3

Choriambic, *Apf* 32

Ἐπτάξατε	.	.	.	.	.
δάφνας ὅτα	.	.	.	.	.
πὰν δ' ἄδιον	.	.	.	.	.
ἦ κῆνον ἔλο	.	.	.	.	.

2 Possibly δάφνας, as Gr and H. There was a Daphne (Hebr. Tahpanhes) in the Delta. The heroine could hardly be meant

- 5 καὶ ταῖσι μὲν ἄ
 ὁδοίπορος ἄν
 μύγῃς δέ ποτ' εἰσάϊον· ἐκλ
 ψύχα δ' αγαπᾶτα συν
 τέαντ[α](ν) δὲ νῦν ἔμμι
 10 ἴκεσθ' ἀγανα
 ἔφθατε καλῶν
 τά τ' ἔμματα κα

θ ν must be wrong as it violates the metre.

A poem incomplete In this and the following fragment only the beginnings of the lines are preserved. Here there is little to guide as to the meaning of the verses unless we read Δάφνας in line two and refer it either to term Daphne in the Delta or to Apollo's Daphne

87

Ox Pap 1787 3^b

Ionic? *Apρ* 32

- Οἰοῖται μελαίνῃ[ς διὰ νύκτος]
 φοίτῃς ὅτα γ' Ὑπνος [καταχευῇ βλεφάροισι λάθαν]
 γλυκύς θεός ἢ δαῖν ὀνίας μ
 ἰὰ χῶρις ἔχην τὰν δυναμ
 5 ἔλπις δέ μ' ἔχει μὴ πεδέχην
 μῆδεν μακάρων ἐλ
 οὐ γάρ κ' ἔον οὕτω
 ἀθύρματα κα
 γένοιτο δὲ μοι
 10 τοῖς πάντα

1 Grenfell and Hunt.

2 Ibid. MS. τ for γ

This fragment has suffered much the same fate as its predecessor but the opening words at least tell us that it

contained an Invocation to a Dream, which, had we possessed it entire, would have been of great interest. It probably came from Book IV.

In the Ox Pap 1787, 3, immediately before the last two poems here given, and separated from them by a *coronis* are the words,

ἔγεντ[ο]

οὐ γάρ κ[ε]

the beginning of the last two lines of another poem.

88*

Bergk, 9, Edm 9

Sapphic, Apf 16

Αἴθ' ἔγω, χρυσοστέφαν' Ἀφρόδιτα,
τόνδε τὸν πάλον λαχόην .

O Aphrodite of the golden crown,
Would that this lot for me were thrown!

89a, b

(a) Bergk, 6, Edm 5

Sapphic Apf 16

(b) Bergk, 5, Edm 6

Sapphic, Apf 16

Menander, *Rhet Graec* 1x, 135, ed Walz *Μέτρον*
μέντοι τῶν κλητικῶν ὕμνων, ἐν μὲν ποιήσει, ἐπιμηκέστερον
ἅμα μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων τοῖς ποιήταις ἔξεστιν τοὺς
θεοὺς ἀνακαλεῖν, ὡς παρὰ τῇ Σαπφοῖ καὶ τῷ Ἀλκμᾶνι
πολλαχοῦ εὐρίσκομεν τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἀρτεμιν ἐκ μυρίων
ὀρέων, μυρίων δὲ πόλεων, ἔτι δὲ ποταμῶν ἀνακαλεῖ τὴν
δὲ Ἀφροδίτην ἐκ Κύπρου, Κνίδου, Συρίας, πολλαχόθεν
ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνακαλεῖ οὐ μόνον γε τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
τόπους αὐτοὺς ἔξεστι διαγράφειν οἷον εἰ ἀπὸ ποταμῶν
καλεῖ, ὕδωρ ἢ ὄχθας καὶ τοὺς ὑποπεφυκότητας λειμῶνας καὶ
χόρους ἐπὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς γενομένους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα

προσαπαγράφουσι, καὶ εἰ ἀπο κερῶν ὠσαυτως ὥστε ἀναγκη
μακροὺς αὐτῶν γένεσθαι τοὺς κλητικοὺς υμνοὺς

Athen xi 463 C κατὰ τὴν καλὴν Σαπφῶ

- (a) Ἡ σε Κύπρος καὶ Πάφος ἡ Πάνορμος
χρυσιαῖσιν εἰ κυλίκεσσιν ἀβρῶτ
συμμιμίγμενον θαλάισι νέκταρ
οἰνοχόεισα

- (b) τουτοῖσι τοῖς ἑταῖροις ἐμοῖς γε καὶ σοῖς

(a) and (b) may come from the same poem Cf Hor
Od i 30

Line 5 may be the words of Athenaeus

Menander The length of invocatory hymns in poetry is however somewhat drawn out For at the same time the poets can summon the Gods from many habitats as we often find in Sappho and Alcan For the poet¹ summons Artemis for instance from countless hills countless cities and rivers too and Aphrodite is summoned² from Cyprus Cnidos Syria and many other localities Not only so but the poet can describe the places themselves as for example if he calls them from rivers he can describe the flowing water or the banks and they picture also the meadows that grow beside them and the dances that are celebrated there and such things and the same if they call them from their sacred temples So invocatory hymns must necessarily be of a lengthy character

- (a) If Cyprus or if Paphos harbour thee

Or the great Haven of the Sea

- (b) Come Cyprus golden goblets fill

With love's own nectar wine³

And delicate delight instil

For these friends mine and thine

¹ Query Alcan but Edm. suggests ἐμῶν † & for τῇ μιν
τῇ &

² By Sappho.

³ I.e. with love poetry

90*

Bergk, 62, Edm 103

Choriambic, App 26

Καθθαίσκει, Κυθήρῃ, ἄβρος Ἀδωνίς τί κε θείμεν,
καττύπτεσθε, κόραι, καὶ κατερείκεσθε χίτωνας.

Cf Anth Pal vii, 407, below, p 184

Maidens Tender Adonis lies a dying,

O Cytherea, what were best to do ?

Cytherea Go, beat your breasts, ye maids, and crying,
Rend ye your robes in sign of rue

91*

Bergk, 63, Edm 25

Sapphic (Adonius), App 16

The so-called Adonius (which seems like the last two feet of the Epic hexameter) was used by Sappho as the fourth line of the Sapphic stanza. The words quoted here were no doubt a refrain

ὦ τὸν Ἀδωνιν
Ah, for Adonis !

92, 93

Bergk, 107, 108, Edm 136

App 18

Φέσπετ' Ὑμῆναον
ὦ τὸν Ἀδώνιον

MSS YECZEPYMHNIONTΩNAΔΩNION or YECCE-
PYIAHNION ΩTONAΔΩNION

Sing ye the bridal song
Ah, for Adonius !

94

Bergk 87 Edm 123

Ionic App 31

Ζῶ δὲ ἐλεξάμαν ὄναρ Κυπρογενήῃ.

To avoid hiatus edd. insert δ or τ but this seems the opening line of a poem. Edm. reads διελεξ

In dreams before the morn

I spake with her the Cyprus-born.

95 96*

Bergk 7 8 Edm 7

Sapphic App 16

Σοὶ δ' ἔγω λεύκας ἐπὶ βῶμον αἶγος

καπιλείῳ τοι

White she-goats were offered to Aphrodite Pandemos
see Lucian *Dial Meretr* vii 1

And to thy altar I will bring

A white goat & kid as offering

And a libation pour to thee.

97

Bergk 44 Edm 87 see also *Proceedings Class*
Assoc 1921

Logaoedic App 18

Athenaeus ix 410 E Σαπφῶ σταν λέγῃ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ
τῶν Μελῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην [καγγόνων] κόσμον
λέγει κεφαλῆς τὰ χειρόμακτρα

These χειρόμακτρα appear to be the head cloth usually
called sakkos which we see on coins of Lesbos and on
the so-called busts of Sappho

Χερρόμακτρα δέ καγγόνων
πορφύρα
ταῦτα καί μοι ἀτιμάσεις,
[ἄλλ]' ἔπεμψ', ἀπὺ Φωκάας
 5 *δῶρα τίμια (καγγόνων).¹*

1 Seidl *καὶ γ κόμων* Ahrens and Wilam *καὶ γ γειύων*.

2 ? *πορφύρα*, but cf 141

3 MS *κα* (or *και*) *ταυταμενατατιμασεις* Or read *καί κεν ἀτιμάσης*
 Edm reads *καταρταμένα, τὰ Τίμας εἰς τ' ἔπεμψ'*, introducing *Timas*
 from *Fragm 164* See Edm 144 and *Proc Class Assoc 1921*

Athenaeus Sappho in the fifth book of her *Lyrics*, when she is speaking to Aphrodite, calls the *χειρόμακτρα* an adornment of the head

Crimson kerchiefs for thy hair,
 But should'st thou for these not care,
 From Phocaea I have sent
 Costly gifts *for thy content*

¹ Most editors delete the word *καγγόνων* (= on the knees) found here in the MS

98

Bergk, 59, Edm 126

Irregular Ionic, Aῗῗ 23

Ψάπφοι, τί τὰν πολύολβον Ἀφροδίταν ,
O Sappho, with what prayer address
Aphrodite rich to bless

99

Bergk, 74, Edm 75.

Choriambic (Lesser Asclepiad), Aῗῗ 28

[ᾠ Ψάπφοι], *σύ τε κᾶμος θεράπων Ἔρος*

The name is added by Edm from the context of Max. Tyrius 24 (18)

O Sappho, both thou and thy acolyte Love

100

Bergk 64. Edm. 69

Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad) App 26

Pollux 124 Πρωτην δέ φασι χλαμύδα ονομασαι
Σαπφω ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἔρωτος εἰποῦσαν

Ἐλθοντ ἐξ ὀράνω πορφύριαν προιέμενον χλαμυν

MS has ἔχοντα after πορφ Seidler reads περθέμενον
for προιέμενον (MS)

Eros from heaven to earth hath passed

A purple mantle round him cast

101

Bergk 132 Edm. 31

Pausanias ix 27 Σαπφω δὲ ἡ Λεσβία πολλά τε καὶ
οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐς Ἔρωτα ᾔσε

Scholiasl *Apoll Rhod* 3 26 Σαπφω [γενεαλογεῖ τὸν
Ἔρωτα] Γῆς καὶ Οὐρανοῦ Scholiasl Theocritus 13 2
Σαπφω [τὸν Ἔρωτα λέγει υἱὸν εἶναι] Ἀφροδίτης καὶ
Οὐρανοῦ

Wilam suggests [ἡ γῆς] after Ἀφροδίτης

Pausanias Sappho the Lesbian has sung many things
to Love and they do not agree one with another

Scholiasl, *Apoll Rhod.* Sappho makes Love the child
of Earth and Heaven.

Scholiasl Theocritus Sappho says Love was the son of
Aphrodite and of Heaven

102

Bergk 125 Edm. 28

Maximus Tyrius xciv 9 Διοτίμα λέγει οτι θάλλει
μὲν Ἔρως ευπορῶν αποθνήσκει δὲ απορῶν τοῦτο Σαπφω

συλλαβοῦσα εἶπε γλυκύπικρον (see 46 above) καὶ ἀλγεσί-
δωρον τὸν Ἔρωτα λέγει Σαπφῶ μυθόπλοκον.

ἀλγεσίδωρον probably the Adonius in a Sapphic stanza.

Maximus Tyrius Diotima (in Plato) says that Love thrives when in affluence, but perishes when in want, compressing this into one word, Sappho called Love "bitter-sweet" (see above 46), and the

Giver of heart-ache

and the

Weaver of fancies

103

Bergk, 117, Edm 79

Choriambic ? *Apf* 28

Τὸν Ἔδν παῖδα κάλει

Heyne for MS εον

Whom she calls her child

104

Bergk, *Adesp* 129, Edm 134

Ionic ? *Apf* 32

Δολοπλόκας γὰρ Κυπρογένεος πρόπολον . . .

From Aristotle, *Eth* 1149b, and Hesych *Κυπρογενέος πρόπολον*.

Minster he of the Cyprus-born,

That weaver of wiles

105

Bergk, 135, Edm 33

Scholias, Hesiod, *Op* 73. Σαπφῶ φησι τὴν Πειθὴν Ἀφροδίτης θυγατέρα

Persuasion, the daughter of Aphrodite

106

Bergk 57 A Edm 24

Logaoedic ? Aphr 22

Philodemus *Περὶ Εὐσεβείας* speaking of Hecate goes on to say [Σαπ]φῶ δὲ τ[ὴν θεόν] φῆσι

Χρυσοφάη θεράπαιναν Ἀφροδίτας

Some think that τ[ὴν] Πειθῶ is to be supplied

Philodemus calls the Goddess (? Hecate or Persuasion)

Aphrodite's handmaid golden-shining

107

Ox. Pap 1231 1 = Pap d. Soc. Ital 1 123 Edm 40
Reconstructed by Wilamowitz Vitelli Edmonds and others

*Sapphic Aphr 16**Πλάσιον δὴ μ[οι] κατ' ὄναρ παρέστα]**πόττι Ἡρα σὰ χ[α]ρλέσσα μόρφα]**τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρεΐδαι πρῶ]**τοὶ βασιλῆες*5 *ἔκτελίσσαντες γ[ὰρ] Ἄρεος ἔργον]**πρῶτα μὲν πα[ρ] ὠκυρόω Σκαμανδρῶ]**τυλὶδ' ἀπορμάθε[ντες] ὁδὸν περαινῆν]**οὐκ ἔδυναντο**πρὶν σὲ καὶ Δι' ἀντ[ό]μενοι κάλεσσαν]*10 *καὶ Θικονας ἱμ[ε]ρόεντα παιδα]**νῦν δὲ κ[αὶ] σὺ τῶνδε λίτων ἀκουσον]**κατ' τὸ π[ά]ροιθε]**ἀγνα καὶ καλ**πάρθ[ενοι]*

3 Edm. κλῆτοι.

6 Wilam.

7 Vitelli ἐπ' ὀκσον Ἰαπν Diehl ἐπ' Ἀργος Ἰλθην

10 i.e. Diomysus.

12 Diehl and Lobel πάλαιον

15 [ἀμ]φι[σ]

ἀν ιλ

ἔμμεν[αι] .

30 ρα πι

Vitelli gives a Scholion at the beginning *N τῶμον*
(= Nikander ?).

O Queenly Hera, *in a dream by night*
Beside me stood thy form, a lovely sight,
Whom the Atridae, sovrans of the host,
Saw when their need was most ;

When *Aies' work on Troy-town they had wrought,*
And first from swift Skamander's stream they sought
Home to return again, they might not find
The way's end they designed,

Until to Zeus most high they *called for aid,*
And to Thyone's lovely child they prayed ,
So now *do thou too to our prayers give ear,*
As when thou erst didst hear

For pure and holy are the things I ask,
Such as a maiden may Be it thy task
Without or grudge or question to fulfil
Thy suppliant servant's will

108

Bergk, 147 , Edm 172

Himerius, *Orat* 13, 7 'Ο Μουσαγέτης, οἶον αὐτὸν καὶ
Σαπφὼ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν ᾧδῇ κόμῃ τε χρυσῇ καὶ λύραις
κοσμήσαντες κύκνοις ἔποχον εἰς Ἑλίκωνα πέμπουσιν,
Μούσαις Χάρισί τε ὁμοῦ συγχορεύοντα

Edm for συγχορεύσαντα

Himerius The Leader of the Muses (i.e. Apollo) such as he appears when both Sappho and Pindar in a poem deck him with golden hair and lyres and send him to Helicon in a chariot drawn by swans to dance there with the Muses and Graces

109

Bergk 82 Edm 127

Dactylic or Anapaestic *Apb* 34

Hephaestion 85 writing of heterogeneous (ασυναρτήτων) metres says that a certain heterogeneous line can have its first half divided as a three foot anapaestic if it begins with a spondee like Sappho's

Αυτὰ δὲ σὺ Καλλιόπα

MS τρίτον διαπαιστικόν οὐ τρίμετρον ἀνάπαιστον

And thou thyself Kalliope

110

Ox Pap 1787 4.

Choriambic? *Apb* 25 ff

οἶτα

[Ἄνδ]ρομέδ[ος]

δ ἔλασ

ρο ἤνεμε

5 Ψάπφοι σὲ φίλ

Κύπρω βασιλ

καίτοι μέγα δ

ὅσοις Φαέθων

πάντα κλέος

10 καί σ' ἐν Ἀχέρ[οντος]

ρ νπ

This poem looks as if it was full of interest, but it is too fragmentary to be of much use to us Sappho is addressed (or addresses herself) as in 3²⁰ and 7⁵ Andromeda, who may be the heroine (see 39⁵), Aphrodite, and Phaethon made a piquant combination, with Acheron to conclude with

111

Bergk, 31 and 143, Edm 140, 168
Hexameter, App 33

Λάτω καὶ Νιόβα μάλα μὲν φίλαι ἦσαν ἑταίραι.

Leto and Niobe once were the dearest pair of companions

Gellius, xx, 7, says that Sappho (no doubt in this poem) described Niobe as mother of nine sons and nine daughters

112

Bergk, 56, 112, Edm 97, 62, two Fragments united
Choriambic? App 28

φαῖσι δὴ ποτα Λήδαν ὑακινθίνοις
 [ἄνθεσ'] ὥιον εὖρην πεπυκάδμενον
 ὥϊω πόλυ λευκότερον

1 Herm for ὑακινθινον Herm [ἄνθεσι] Some MS also have ποταμον Eustath (*Od xi*), 1686, says that S here deals with the story of the Dioscuri

Once on a day, as they do tell,
 With clustering hyacinths nestled round
 Leda an egg far whiter found
 Than any egg of whitest shell

113

Bergk, 145, Edm 170
 Servius Verg, *Ecl vi*, 42 Prometheus post factos a

se homines dicitur auxilio Minervae caelum ascendisse et adhibita facula ad rotam solis ignem furatus quem hominibus indicavit. Ob quam causam irati dii duo mala immiserunt terris febres et morbos sicut et Sappho et Hesiodus memorant.

For *febres* perhaps *feminas* as Bergk but cf Hor *Od* 1 3 29

Servius Prometheus after fashioning man is said to have climbed up to Heaven by Minerva's aid and applying a torch to the sun's disk to have stolen fire which he made known to men. The gods being angry in consequence sent two evils upon the earth fevers and diseases as Sappho and Hesiod relate

114

Bergk 134 Edm. 167

Scholias Apoll. Rhod. 1v 57 *Περὶ τοῦ τῆς Σελήνης ἔρωτος ιστοροῦσι Σαπφώ καὶ Νικάνδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Εὐρώπης λέγεται δὲ κατέρχεσθαι εἰς τοῦτο το αὐτὸν (Λάτμιον) τὴν Σελήνην πρὸς Ἐνδυμῖωνα*

Cf Eudocia 148

Scholias, Apoll. Rhod. Sappho and Nikander (in the Second Book of his *Europha*) tell of the love of Selene. She is said to have come down to Endymion in this (Latmian) cave

115

Bergk 144 Edm. 169

Servius Verg. *Aen* vi 21 *Quidam septem pueros et septem puellas accipere volunt quod et Plato dicit in Phaedone et Sappho in Lyncis quos liberavit secum Theseus*

Servius . Some will have this to mean that there were seven boys and seven girls, as Plato says in his *Phaedo* and Sappho in her *Lyrics*, whom Theseus set free at the same time as himself

116

Bergk, 62ⁿ, Edm 104

Pausanias, ix, 29, 8 (cf 1, 29, 2) *Πάμφως δὲ, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις τῶν ὕμνων ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους, οὗτος ἀκμάζοντος ἐπὶ τῷ Λίνῳ τοῦ πένθους, Οἰτολίνον ἐκάλεσεν αὐτόν. Σαπφὼ δὲ ἡ Λεσβία τοῦ Οἰτολίνου τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν Πάμφω μαθοῦσα Ἀδωνιν ὁμοῦ καὶ Οἰτολίνον ᾗσε*

Pausanias Pamphōs, who composed for the Athenians their oldest hymns, called Linus in the passage, where the mourning over him was at its height, Oitolinus (*Dead Linus*), and Sappho, learning the name from the verses of Pamphōs, sang of Adonis and Oitolinus together.

117

Edm , p 156

Philostratus, *Vit Apollonii*, 1, 30 *‘Ο Ἀπολλώνιος καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν “Ἡρου με,” ἔφη, “πρώην, ὅτι ὄνομα ἦν τῇ Παμφύλῳ γυναικὶ ἣ δὴ Σαπφοῖ τε ὁμιλῆσαι λέγεται καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους οὓς ἐς τὴν Ἀρτεμιν τὴν Περγαίαν ᾄδουσι συνθεῖναι τὸν Αἰολέων τε καὶ Παμφύλων τρόπον καλεῖται τοίνυν ἡ σοφὴ αὕτη Δαμοφύλη, καὶ λέγεται τὸν Σαπφοῦς τρόπον παρθένους τε ὁμιλητρίας κτήσασθαι ποιήματά τε συνθεῖναι τὰ μὲν ἐρωτικά, τὰ δὲ ὕμνους τά τοι ἐς τὴν Ἀρτεμιν καὶ παρῳδῆται αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Σαπφῶν ᾄσται’*

Philostratus Apollonius, calling Damis, said, You asked me the other day what was the name of the Pamphylian lady, who is said to have associated with

Sappho and to have composed the hymns which they sing to Artemis of Perga in the Aeolian and Pamphylian modes Well this talented woman was called Damophyla and she is said to have had girls as associates like Sappho and like her composed poems some love poems and others hymns to the gods The hymns to Artemis were written by her in imitation of Sappho and followed the Sapphic model

EPITHALAMIA

It is supposed that Sappho's wedding songs were collected together in a separate book, perhaps the eighth or ninth and last, at the end of the edition of her poems which was arranged according to subjects

The writing of these epithalamia, or bridal songs, for friends and clients in Lesbos and elsewhere was an important and possibly lucrative part of Sappho's professional work

Some of these were processional, for use when the bride was being escorted in a chariot to the bridegroom's house by relations and friends carrying torches, singing to the music of flutes, and jesting, while flowers were thrown at the "happy pair" At the bridegroom's house they were received by the mother-in-law, and sweetmeats, as we use rice, were showered upon them as a symbol of plenty The banquet, if it had not already taken place at the bride's house, was now celebrated A second wedding song could be sung at this point

But the real epithalamium was sung outside the bridal chamber, when the *θυρωρός*, the bridegroom's friend, had shut the door and stood guard before it, the girl-friends of the bride being supposed to make attempts to rescue her from the clutches of the male These are the mock combats referred to on such occasions, at which the *θυρωρός* was subjected to jests and satirical remarks, from which the bridegroom himself was by no means exempt

The bridegroom was called *νυμφίος*, but Sappho uses the word *γαμβρός* (son-in-law), and the best man was named *παρανύμφιος* The word *ὑμέναιος* describes the whole musical part of the ceremonies, but especially

1



2



3



4



5



6



All these except No. 4 are from the Vienna Museum, being
IMPERIAL BRONZE COINS OF MITYLENE AND ERESUS

No. 4 is Syracusean coin at Paris

Ufa p. 150

the wedding song and not seldom the god of marriage. These wedding rites were essentially religious in character and began with sacrifices to Hera Artemis Aphrodite Urania and Persuasion the daughter of Aphrodite as she was called.

The epithalamium proper which was sung before the bridal chamber at night (sometimes a song at dawn) was accompanied with dancing. The chorus consisted of girls and young men who answered one another. We trace this dialogue form in some of our fragments and it is possible that even the bride took part in them.

The favourite month for marriages was Gamelion (from γάμος) which corresponded to the end of January and the beginning of February.

We can get some idea of what Sappho's wedding songs in their entirety may have been like from Catullus who evidently had Sappho before his eyes in his *Carmen Nuptiale* and his *Juliae et Manliae Epithalamium*. For Greek examples we have the exquisite *Epithalamium of Helen* by Theocritus and the concluding passage in the *Peace* of Aristophanes.

Aristaenetus¹ a writer of imaginary letters tells us that the epithalamia of Sappho opened with an invocation of the Muses and Graces. This was followed by the praises of bride and bridegroom. There seems also to have been a part composed by Sappho to do duty at all weddings.

Himerus² the rhetorician who wrote a hundred and fifty years earlier³ has given us a detailed and rather florid description of the technique of Sappho's wedding songs as follows —

¹ Aristaenetus, I, 10 (a.d. 450)

² Himerius, *Orat.* I, 4 f.

Bergk, 93 Edm. p. 174

“ From the poets themselves we can learn how difficult it is to find a melody tender (*ἄπαλόν*) enough to please the Goddess with the song For methinks the majority of these, though adepts in love-poetry, have pictured Hera indeed with all the hardness of boys and girls, but left the mysteries of Aphrodite wholly to Sappho for the song to the lyre and the composition of the epithalamium It is she who after the (mock) combats enters the bridal precincts, decorates the room, spreads the couch, marshals the maidens into the bridal chamber, brings Aphrodite in her car of Graces, and a bevy of Loves to play with her She twines the bride’s hair with hyacinths, except where the forehead parts it, the rest she lets the breezes ruffle gently as they list, but the wings of the Loves and their locks she decks with gold, and despatches them before the car as an escort waving their torches on high ”

“ It was Sappho’s way, then, to liken the maiden to an apple, giving to those who were eager to pick it before it was ripe thus much grace as to taste it [not even] with their finger-tips, but to him that looked to gather the fruit in due season, so much as to wait for the prime of its beauty

“ And it was her way to liken the bridegroom to Achilles and to compare the youthful bridegroom’s achievements to those of the hero ”

We find also a bridal invocation in Himerius,¹ which may have been an imitation of Sappho —

“ O Bride, within whose breast
The rosy Loves make nest,
O Bride, of Paphos’ Queen
The loveliest likeness seen,

¹ Himerius, *ibid* , § 6

Go to thy marriage bed
 Go to the couch now spread
 Thy bridegroom there to meet
 And share in dalliance sweet.
 And may bright Hesper guide
 Thee willing to his side
 Looking with wondering prayer
 On Hera's silver chair
 That yokes each wedded pair

It is supposed that Sappho drew upon Folk Songs for appropriate metre and phrasing and expressions in her bridal ditties.

118

Bergk 84 Edm. 129
Trochaic App 35ⁿ 36

Δεῦρο δεῦτε Μοῖσαι χρύσιον λίποισαι.

MS *δεῦτε* Heph. 106 calls the metre two ithyphallics
 Hither again O Muses come
 Leaving on high your golden home!

119

Bergk 65 Edm. 68
Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad) App 26

Heph. 35 says that the whole of Sappho's third book was in this metre

Βροδοπάχες αγναι Χάριτες δεῦτε Δίος κόραι

Schol. Theocr. 28 (which is full of Sapphic words) says that Idyll is written in this sixteen syllable Sapphic metre

Neither this nor the preceding need of course be the opening of a bridal song but it seems possible see above p. 151

Ye rose armed virgin Graces three
 Daughters of Zeus come hither to me!

120

Bergk, 60 , Edm 101

Choriambic, App 27

Horace, *Od* 1, 8, uses this metre, the greater Sapphic,
but he makes the third syllable long

Δεῦτέ νυν ἄβραι Χάριτες, καλλίκομοί τε Μοῖσαι

Ye delicate Graces three,

And ye Muses fair

With your lovely hair,

Come hither, I pray, to me

121*

Bergk, 103 , Edm 160

Trochaic, App 35, 37

Χαίροις, ᾶ νύμφα, χαιρέτω δ' ὁ γάμβρος

MS *χαίροις ἀνύμφα*, Neuc *Χαίροισθα* Cf Theocr 18,
49 Possibly the ᾶ may be counted short, as Edm
All hail to the bride, to the bridegroom all hail!

122

Bergk, 105 , Edm 162

Logaoedic, App 19

. . . *Χαῖρε, νύμφα,*
Χαῖρε, τίμιε γάμβρε, πόλλα

Called by Heph 56 the nine-syllabled Sapphic

All welcome, Bride, to thee!

Thou, honoured Bridegroom, welcome be!

123

Bergk, 106 , Edm 163

Choriambic, App 26

Οὐ γάρ [ἐστ'] ἀτέρα νῦν πάις, ᾧ γάμβρε, τοαῦτα

*H_i is given by one MS instead of *νῦν*. It is difficult to follow the remarks of Dionys *Com* p 25 on the metre.

There is no maid beside
O bridegroom like thy bride

124

Bergk 99 Edm 155

Logaoedic *Apb* 19

Ολβιε γάμβρε σοι μὲν δη γάμος ως αραο
ἐκτετέλειστ ἐχης δὲ πάρθειον αν αραο

For repetition cf 125 and Hor *Od* 1 13 1 2 For
ολβιε cf Theocr *Epith Hel* 16

O happy bridegroom now
The marriage rites are done
Thou prayedst for and thou
The prayed for maid hast won

125*

Bergk 104 Edm 161

Logaoedic? *Apb* 34

Τω σ ὦ φίλε γαμβρε κάλως εἰκάσδω;
ὄρπακι βραδύνω σε κάλιστ εἰκάσδω

1 See note on 124

Dear Bridegroom in what likeness were it well
Thy praise in song to tell?
To the fresh tender sapling of a tree
I best may liken thee

126

Bergk 100 Edm 158

Logaoedic *Apb* 19

Choricius apud *Graux Textes Grecs* 97 *Εγω ουρ*
τὴν νυμφὴν Σαπφικῇ μελωδίᾳ κοσμήσω

Σοὶ χάριεν μὲν εἶδος ὄππατα τ' . . .
 μέλλιχ', ἔρος δ' ἐπ' ἱμέρτῳ κέχυται προσώπῳ,
 καί σε τετίμακ' ἐξόχως Ἀφροδίτα

MS μελιχρ(ά) Cf Catull 48, 1, mellitos oculos, and 61, 194, Pulcher es, neque te Venus neglegit. The second line is quoted by Heph 102, as μελλίχοος δ' κ.τ λ.

Choricius I therefore will honour the bride with a Sapphic melody —

Thy form is full of grace,
 Tender thine eyes and sweet, and love
 O'er-floods thy charming face,
 And Aphrodite's *grace* all else above
 Gives thee the foremost place

127

Bergk, 93^a, Edm 157

Hexameter 2 *Aph* 33

Himerius, *Orat* 1, 19 φέρε οὖν εἴσω τοῦ θαλάμου
 παράγοντες τὸν λόγον ἐντυχεῖν τῷ κάλλει τῆς νύμφης
 πείσομεν

ὦ κάλα, ὦ χαρίεσσα [κόρα]

πρέπει γάρ σοι τὰ τῆς Λεσβίας ἐγκώμια · σοὶ μὲν
 γὰρ ῥοδόσφυροι χάριτες χρυσῇ τ' Ἀφροδίτῃ συμπαίζουσιν.

Cf Theoc, *Epith Helen* 38

Himerius. Come, then, taking our discourse into the
 bridal chamber, we will prevail on it to invoke the
 beauty of the bride,

O beautiful, O passing sweet !

For the praises of the Lesbian poetess become thee, for
 with thee indeed sport the rosy-ankled Graces and golden
 Aphrodite

128

Bergk 83 Edm 128

Hexameter ? *App* 33

[*Nūn*] δαύοις ἀπάλας ἐτάρας ἐν στήθεσι

δαύω used only here by Sappho

In sweet sleep may'st thou rest

On thy soft comrade's breast!

129

Bergk 95 Edm 149

Hexameter *App* 33

Ἔσπερε πάντα φέρων ὅσα φαίνολις ἐσκέδασ αὖτως
φέρεις οἶν φέρεις αἶγα φέρεις τ' ἀπυ μᾶτρερι παιδα

2 Bergk for MS. φέρεις δ' αὖν Bergk. For MS. δ' αὖν See Catull. 62, 10

All that the glittering morn hath driven afar

Thou callest home O evening Star!

Thou callest sheep thou callest kid to rest

And children to their mother's breast

130

Bergk 133 Edm 32

Sapphic *App* 16

Himerus *Orat* vii 9 Ἀστήρ οἶμαι σὺ τις ἐσπέριος

Ἀστέρων πάντων ὁ κάλυστος

Ἐσπεροῦς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ εἰς Ἑσπερον ἄσμα

Cf Himer vi 17 Catull. 62 20

Himerus Thou art in some sort methinks an evening
star

Fairest of all the stars

As Sappho says in her song to Hesperus

131

Bergk, 102, Edm 159

Hexameter ? *Ap̄p* 33

Ἦρ' ἔτι παρθενίας ἐπιβάλλομαι,

Hoffm reads *παρθενίκας* from Scholiast, Dion Thrax
See Bergk

Can it be that I still for my maidenhead long ?

132*

Bergk, 96, Edm 152

Hexameter ? *Ap̄p* 33

ἀιπάρθενος ἔσσομαι

Ever-a-maid shall I be

133

Bergk, 93, Edm 150 Sung by chorus of maidens

Hexameter, *Ap̄p* 33

Scholiast Hermogenes, *Rhet Gr* vii, 953, Walz Αἰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἰδεῶν μονοειδεῖς ἔχουσι τὰς ἐννοίας καὶ ὅσαι τὰ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἡδέα ἐκφράζουσιν ὅψει ἀκοῇ ὁσφρήσει γένυσει ἀφῆ, ὡς . καὶ Σαπφώ

Οἶον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρῳ ἐπ' ὕσδῳ
ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδρόπης
οὐ μὰν ἐκλελάθοντ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύναντ' ἐπὶ κεσθαι

Catull in his *Epith* 61, 88, 62, 48, has these lines and 134 in mind

Scholiast Hermogenes For some sorts of style have to do with thoughts of one kind only and as many as express things pleasing to the senses, sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, as and Sappho —

As a sweet-apple rosy, O Maid, art thou,
At the uttermost tip of the uttermost bough,
Unseen in the autumn by gatherer's eyes—
Nay seen, but only to tantalize

134*

Bergk 94 Edm 151 Sung by chorus of youths.

Hexameter App 33

Demetrius *Eloc* 106 Τὸ δὲ ἐπιφώνημα καλουμένον
ορίζοιτο μὲν ἂν τις λέξιν ἐπικοσμοῦσαν ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ
μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τῆς γὰρ λέξεως ἡ
μὲν υπηρέτεῖ ἡ δὲ ἐπικοσμεῖ υπηρτεῖ μὲν ἢ τοιάδε
οἶαν καταστεύουσι· ἐπικοσμεῖ δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενοι
το χαμαὶ ἄνθος ἐπετηνεγκται τοῦτο τοῖς προλε
λεγμένοις κόσμος σαφῶς καὶ κάλλος καὶ καθόλου τὸ
ἐπιφώνημα τοῖς τῶν πλουσίῳ εἰκεν ἐπιδείγμασιν οἷον
γάρ τι καὶ αὐτο τοῦ ἐν λόγοις πλουτοῦ σημεῖόν ἐστι

Οἶαν τὰν ὑάκινθον ἐν ὄρρεσι ποίμενες ἄνδρες
πόσσι καταστεύουσι χάμαι δὲ τε πόρφυρον ἄνθος

1 Cf. note to 133

2 *πόρφυρον* for *πορφύρεον* not Sapphic says Lobel.

Demetrius The *epiphonema* as it is called one might define as a phrase that embellishes and it is of the highest importance in producing elevation of style for one part of the phrase ministers to the thought the other embellishes it A case of the former is this As a hyacinth etc. while the embellishment comes in with the following clause Embellishment and beauty clearly result from the addition made to the preceding words and in general the epiphonema is on a par with the displays of the rich For indeed it may be said to be in itself a mark of wealth in words —

Like a hyacinth flower on the mountain side
Trod down by the shepherd's feet in the clay
On the earth lies fading its purple pride.

135

Bergk 109 Edm. 164

Choriambic App 27

Παρθενία, Παρθενία, ποῖ με λίποις' [ἀπ]οίχῃ ,
 Οὔκετι πρὸς σ', οὔκετι πρὸς σ' ἥξω

2 MS οὐκέτι ἥξω πρὸς σε, οὐκέτι ἥξω

The Bride Why hast thou left me? Whither fled,
 O maidenhead, O maidenhead?

Her Virginity Ah, never more, O maiden mine,
 Shall I be thine, shall I be thine!

This would be a morning welcome

136

Bergk, 91, Edm 148

Hexameter with ιεφαίν, Arph 33

Demetrius, *Eloc* 148 Ἔστι δέ τις ἰδίως χάρις
 , Σαπφικὴ ἐκ μεταβολῆς, ὅταν τι εἰποῦσα μεταβάλληται καὶ
 ὥσπερ μετανοήσῃ οἶον . ὥσπερ ἐπιλαμβανομένη ἑαυτῆς
 ὅτι ἀδυνάτῳ ἐχρήσατο ὑπερβολῇ, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῷ Ἀρηϊ
 ἴσος ἐστί

Ἴψοι δὴ τὸ μέλαθρον—Ἵμῆναον
 ἀέρρετε τέκτονες ἄνδρες—Ἵμῆναον
 γάμβρος Φίσσος Ἀρεν(ι)—[Ἵμῆναον]
 ἄνδρος μεγάλῳ πόλῳ μέσδων—[Ἵμῆναον]

5 ἔρχεται

1 Or ἵψοι

3 Cf Hom, *Od* viii, 115 Lobel says Sappho only uses ἴσος

5 In MS ἔρχεται follows γάμβρος

Demetrius There is a grace of style, characteristic of Sappho, arising from her changing an expression, when after saying something, she takes it back and as it were alters her mind, for instance (as below), pulling herself up as it were, because she has used an impossible exaggeration, no one being as tall as Ares

Raise high, ye workmen all,

The roof-tree of the hall

Sing, sing the wedding song!

For more than mortals tall
 Like Ares in the throng
 The bridegroom comes along
Sing sing the wedding song!

137

Bergk 92 Edm. 148

Hexameter Apb 33

Πέρροχος ως ὅτ' αἰδοῖς ὁ Λέσβιος αλλοδαποῖσιν

Pre-eminent art thou as when

The Lesbian bard outsings all other men

Possibly Terpander is meant

138 and 139*

Bergk 98 Edm. 154

Aeolic Tetrameter Apb 34

Demetrius *Eloc* 167 Ἀλλως δὲ σκωπτεῖ Σαπφῶ

τὸν αἰγροῖον νυμφῖον καὶ τὸν θυρωρὸν τὸν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις
 εὐτελέστατα καὶ ἐν πύξοις ὀνόμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ποιητικοῖς
 ὥστε αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἔστι τὰ ποιήματα ταῦτα διαλέγεσθαι
 ἢ ἀδῆν οὐδ' ἂν ἀρμόσαι πρὸς τὸν χορὸν ἢ πρὸς τὴν λύραν
 εἰ μή τις εἰη χαρὸς διαλεκτικός

Θυρωρῶ πόδες ἑμποροῦντοι

τὰ δὲ σάμβαλα πεμπεβόηα

πέσσυγγοι δὲ δέκ' ἔξεπόνασαν

Synesius *Ep* 3 158

Ὁ δὲ ἀδικούμενος Ἀρμόνιος ἔστιν ὁ τοῦ Θυρωροῦ
 πατήρ ὡς ἂν εἴποι Σαπφῶ τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ σωφρων καὶ
 μέτριος ἐν τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν βίῳ γενόμενος ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐγενείας
 ἀμφισβητῶν τῷ Κέκροπι διετέλεσεν

Demetrius In another style Sappho chaffs the boorish bridegroom and the keeper of the door at the wedding in the most everyday terms, and such as are more fitted for prose than poetry. Consequently these poems of hers are better spoken than sung, and would not be adapted for a chorus or the lyre unless, indeed, it were a chorus that conversed in dialogue.

Seven fathoms are his feet,
The keeper's of the door,
Five hides they need complete,
And cobblers half a score

Synesius The man that is wronged is Harmonius, the father of Thyrorus, who, as Sappho would say, though in all other respects he lived soberly and honestly all his days, yet in respect of descent never ceased to dispute it with Cecrops himself.

140a, b

Bergk, 51, Edm 146

Logaoedic, but see App 24

Athen x, 425 C, xi, 475 A

- (a) κῆ δ' ἀμβροσίας μὲν κράτηρ ἐκέκρατο,
"Ερμας δ' ἔλεν ἔρπιν θεοῖσ' οἰνοχόησαι,
(b) κῆνοι δ' ἄρα πάντες καρχάσι' ὄνηχον
κάλειβον, ἀράσαντο δὲ πάμπαν ἔσλα
γάμβρω

2 ἔρπιν said to be an Egyptian word for wine v l ὄλπιν = a bowl

3 καρχ ὄνηχον Hoffm Edm

At the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, or possibly Heracles and Hebe?

- (a) There stood the ambrosia mingled in the cup
And Hermes for the gods their wine did pour
(b) And then they all held each his goblet up
And due libation made
And for the bridegroom prayed
Of all good things and fair a plenteous store.

141

Ox. Pap 1232 1 Edm 66

Logaoedic Arph 34

The home-coming of Hector with his bride
Andromache to Troy

Κυπρo

κᾱρυξ ἤλθε θ[έω]

Ιδαος· τα δὲ κα

αι

ελε θεις

φ[αι]εις τάχυσ αγγελος

τᾱς τ αλλας Ασίας τδ ἔσαν κλέος ἀφθιτον

- 5 Εκτωρ καὶ συνέταιροι αγοισ ἐλικωπιδα
Θήβας ἐξ ἰδρας Πλακίας τ απ α[ἱ]νῶ
αβραν Ανδρομάχαν ενι ταῦσι ἐπ αλμυροι
πόντον· πόλλα δ [ἐλ]γῆματα χρυσια καμματα
πορφυρα κάλα τ αὐ τ[ρό]να ποίκιλ αθύρματα
10 ἀργύρ[α τ] ἀνάριθμα ποτιηρια καλέφαις
ως εἶπ οτραλλῶς δ ὀνόρουσε πάτηρ φίλος
φάμα δ ἤλθε κατὰ πτόλιν εὐρυχ[ορον] φίλοις
αυτικ Ιλιάδαι σατιναις υπ ἐϋτρόχοις
ἀγον αιμιότοις ἐπέβαινε δὲ παις οχλος
15 γυναικων τ αμα παρθενίκαν τε τ[αν]υσφύρων
χωρις [δ] αὐ Περάμοιο θυγατρεις [ἐπ]ήϊσαι
ἱπ[πο]ις δ ανδρες υπαγον υπ αρ[μα]τ υμοι δ εβαν
π[αν]τες ἡῖθιοι μεγαλωσι δ
δ ανίοχοι φ
20 π ἔξαγον

unknown number of lines lost .

- . . . ἵκελοι θεοῖς
 . . . ἄγνον ἀόλ[λεες]
 ὄρμαται . . . [κλει]νον ἐς Ἴλιον
 αὖλος δ' ἀδυμέλη . . . τ' ὀνεμίνυ[το]
 25 καὶ ψόφο[ς κ]ροτάλ[ων] . . . ὡς δ' ἄρα πάρθενοι
 ἄειδον μέλος ἄγν[ον] . . . ἵκα]νε δ' ἐς αἶθ[ερα]
 ἄχω θεσπεσί[α] γεγ
 πάντα δ' ἦς κατ' ὄδο[ις]
 κράτηρες φίαλαί τ' ο . . . νυεδε . . . ακ
 30 [φοῖνιξ] καὶ κισία λίβανος τ' ὀνεδείχνυτο
 γύναικες δ' ἐλέλυξαν ὅσαι προγενέστεραι,
 πάντες δ' ἄνδρες ἐπήρατον ἵαχον ὄρθιον
 πάων' ὀγκαλέοντες Ἐκάβολον εὐλύραν
 ὕμνην δ' Ἐκτορα κ(αὶ) Ἀνδρομάχαν θεοϊκίλο[ις]

Σαφοῦς μέλη

(οἱ μελῶν) β'

A swift messenger from Ida heralds the approach of Hector, and his bride Andromache—the deathless glory of Asia

- 5 " See Hector with his trusty comrades brings
 From sacred Thebes and Placia's living springs
 The delicate bright-eyed Andromache
 In ships that sail upon the briny sea ,
 And many a golden bracelet do they bear,
 10 And many a purple robe and broidery fair,
 And countless silver cups and ivory chased "

4 Lobel reads δὲ γὰρ

6 ἱαρ corr in MS from ἱέρας

8 In ἔμματα the digamma is disregarded, as in ἐλικώπιδα ἐλιγμ = ψέλια Hesych see Wilam

9 Edm ἀθρήματα from Hesychius τρόνα Lobel (Hesych), see Homer, *Il* x, 441 But in his new edition Lobel gives κατ' αὐτμενα

- He spake and Hector's dear sire rose in haste
 While through the wide ways to their loved ones ran
 The tidings and of Ilion's sons each man
 15 Put mules to the swift cars wherein the throng
 Of dames and slim foot maids should ride along
 And Priam's daughters had their place apart
 And lusty youths yoked chariots for the start
And down the sounding streets of spacious Troy
 20 The charioteers raced in their reckless joy

- And as to famous Troy like gods they rode*
Around the chariot wheels there ever flowed
A stream of people cheering as they went
In one great happy throng together blent
 25 *And the sweet flute with castanets did vie*
And maids sang sacred songs that reached the sky
And thankful prayers to all the Gods were made

- And incense cast on altars as they prayed
 The elder women raised a joyful cry
 30 While from the men the lovely paean high
 To Phoebus of the tuneful lyre outrang
 As god like Hector and Andromache they sang

This piece is epic rather than lyrical and Wilam.
 judges it away from Sappho

14 αἰμιον Cf. Ox. Pap. 1233 1 2, 13

16 Περδμου Epic Genitive ἰπφτωρ Wilam

18 ἡθεος Epic for αἰθεος Aeol.

21 Cf. 63.

28 φεινξ Jurenka. Lobel μέρρε.

28 Corrected from δρεδύχοντα. The δ might be λ.

29 Corrected from ἰλλυαδον

31 MS πδονα.

32 Imp. from ὁμηγι, ὁμείω = ὁμηγεον

142

Ox Pap 1231, 56; Edm 47

Sapphic, Aḗp 16

-

 5 *πάρθενοι δι*
παιτυγίσδομεν
σὰν ἀείδοι[σαι φιλότατα καὶ ὑμῶ]
φας ἰοκόλ-ω
ἀλλ' ἐγέρθει[ς]
 10 *στεῖχε σοῖς [φίλοις]*
ἤτερ ὅσσον ἄ
ὑπνον ἴδωμεν

*Μελῶν α'**χηγηδῶ**

4 α might be μ, but the τ cannot be φ

7 Wilam of Theocrt, 18, 51

9 Or ἐγέρθητ

* i.e. 1320 lines in Book I

According to a note that follows this poem, it must have been the last of the first Book, which we know was composed of poems in the Sapphic stanza. But the words which are preserved seem to point to its being, like the next, a bridal song. The epithalamia, however, were in one recension of Sappho's poems grouped together in a separate book (viz. the 8th or 9th)

143

Ox Pap 1232, 1, Edm 65

Logaoedic ὁ Aḗp 34

αι

5

λε γὰρ
 κάλος
 ακαλα κλόνει
 κάματος φρένα[ς]
 « κατισδάνει
 ἀλλ ἀγίτ ὦ φίλαι
 ἀγχι γὰρ ἀμέρα

6 Corrected to φρένα.

8 = ἔγχετε

9 Possibly the words Σαφούς μελῶν follow this poem.

The concluding words seem to show that this like the last may be a bridal song—a welcome at the bride's door or window in the early hours of the morning. Compare 135 above.

144

Bergk 89 Edm 105

Choriambic Anapaest 26

Pollux vii 73 *Ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Σαφούς Μελῶν*
εστὶν εὐρεῖν

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄβροισιν λασίοισιν εὖ ἐπυκάσσει

Pollux In the Fifth Book of Sappho's Lyrics we find
 And linen soft she wound
 Thy dainty limbs around

145

Bergk 50 Edm 56 Herodian 39 27 from the
 second Book of Sappho

Logaoedic? Anapaest 34

ἔγω δ' ἐπὶ μολθάκαν

τύλαν κασπολέω μέλε

2 Hermann for MS. *επολέω*.

On a soft cushion prest
I lay thy limbs to rest

146

Bergk, 81, Edm 57

Ionian ? *Apb* 32

Κὰμ μὲν τε τύλαν κασπολέω

MS κὰν μὲν τε τυλαγκας ἀσπόλεα

Down indeed the cushion will I lay.

147

Bergk, 19, Edm 20

πόδας δὲ
ποίκιλος μάσλης ἐκάλυπτε, Λύδι-
ον κάλον ἔργον

2 = μάσθλης

Upon her feet a spangled leather band,
The fair work of a Lydian hand

148

Bergk, 43, Edm 141

Sapphic, *Apb* 34

ὅτα πάννυχος ἄσφι κατάγρει
[ὅππατ' ἄωρος]

2 Bergk, but placed here by Edm

And sleep the whole night round
Their eyes fast closed hath bound

149

Bergk, 57, Edm 141a

Dactylic, *Apb* 34

Ὅφθαλμοις δὲ μέλαις [χύτο] νύκτος ἄωρος

If *χυτο* be omitted *ὀφθαλμοῖς* would = *ὀφθαλμούς*
 And on their heavy eyes
 The night's dark slumber lies

149a

Bergk 66 Edm 70

Choriambic App 26

ὁ δ' Ἀρεὺς φαῖσι κεν Ἀφαιστον ἀγὴν βιά
 But Ares makes his brag
 By force Hephaestus *he could* drag

150

Bergk 97 Edm 153

Hexameter App 33

Δωσομεν ἦσι πάτερ

Gifts will we give quoth the father

151

Bergk 23 Edm 23.

Sapphic App 16

Καὶ ποθήω καὶ μάομαι

On a red figured amphora are depicted a player on the cithara and a youth reclining opposite who says MAME ΚΑΙ ΠΟΤΕΙΟ, see Kretschmer *Vasen Inschriften* p 86

I love and I long

152

Bergk 20 Edm 21

Sapphic App 16

παντοδᾶπαισι μεμειγμένα χροταῖσι

Quoted by Schol. Apoll. Rhod 1 727 in reference to Jason's mantle.

A coat of many colours blent

The Scholiast contrasts Sappho's description of the cloak with that of Apollonius who says that it was red

153

Bergk, 25 , Edm 50

Dactylic, App 34

Possibly the Adonius in a Sapphic stanza, but it might be the end of a hexameter line

ἽAs θέλετ' ὕμμες

Quoted, with οὐτι μοι ὕμμες (see Bergk, 23 , Edm 49), as from Sappho, Bk II The latter is found in Hom , *Il* 1, 335

While you are willing

154

Bergk, 168 , Edm 132

Ionic ? App 32 It might be Iambic or begin an Alcaic line, see App 21

Τίσιων ὀφθαλμοῖσιν . . .

With what eyes shall I behold ?

155

Bergk, 115 , Edm 27

ἽΟπταις ἄμμε

Probably Aphrodite or Eros is addressed

Our heart thou scorcest

156*

Ox Pap 220, 9 , Edm 113a

Logaoedic (or Ionic), App 22, 31

(a) [Εὐδαιμ]ονίαν τε κούρειαν

Good fortune and good health.

(b) [Γῆρας] ζαφύγοιμι παιδες ἡβα
[κάλλιστον]

Old age! Ah ye girls may it never be mine!

It is youth it is youth that is only divine!

1 Edm. Blazs reads [Ερως] ὄνιον and in the next line [δρασθε]

2 Edm. and Blazs, but Blazs puts γῆρας in a preceding line and reads θάνοισα φῶγ κ τ.λ. Lobel rejects εὐδαιμονίαν

157

Bergk 47 Edm 95

Choriambic App 18^a

Zenobius *Proo* 1 58 *Επὶ τῶν αἰωρως τελευτησαντων*
ἦτοι ἐπὶ τῶν φιλοτέκνων μὲν τρυφῇ δὲ διαφθειρόντων αὐτά
Γέλλω γάρ τις ἦν παρθένος καὶ ἐπειδὴ αἰωρως ἐτελεύτησε
φασὶν οἱ Λέσβιοι αὐτῆς τὸ φάντασμα ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ παιδία
καὶ τοὺς τῶν αἰωρων θανάτους αὐτῇ ανατιθέασιν

Γέλλως παιδοφιλωτέρα

Zenobius Used of those who die before their time or of those who are fond of children but ruin them by cosseting them up For Gello was a maid and since she died before her time the Lesbians say that her ghost haunts little children and they put down to her the deaths of those who die before their time

Fonder of children she

Than Gello e'er could be

Zenobius says that Sappho referred to her

158

Bergk 116 Edm 131

Trochaic App 21 35

Ημιτύβιον στάλασσον

A dripping napkin

Bergk, 122, 123, *Adesp* 76, *Edm* 59, 60, 61

Demetrius *Eloc* 161 Ἐκ δὲ ὑπερβολῶν χάριτες
 μάλιστα αἱ ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαις, πᾶσα δὲ ὑπερβολὴ ἀδύνατος
 ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ εἶδους καὶ τὰ
 τοιαῦτά ἐστιν . καὶ τὰ Σαπφικά

(a) πόλυ πάκτιδος ἀδυμελεστέρα

(b) χρύσω χρυσοτέρα

Gregorius ad Hermogen, *Rhet. Græc* vii, 2236 Walz

Αἰσchrῶς μὲν κολακεύει τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐκκίνα ὅσα ἐστὶν
 ἐρωτικά, οἷον τὰ Ἀνακρέοντος, τὰ Σαπρούς οἷον

(c) γάλακτος λευκοτέρα

(d) *ὕδατος ἀπαλωτέρα

(e) πηκτίδων ἐμμελεστέρα

(f) βρόδων ἀβροτέρα

(g) *ἱματίου ἐανοῦ μαλακωτέρα

(h) χρύσω τιμιωτέρα

(i) *ναρκίσσου τερενώτερον

Which of these are from Sappho can only be guessed
 I leave the non-Aeolic forms of the MS

Cf "Softer than sleep" (*Anth Pal* ix, 567,
Theocr xv, 125), etc It is difficult to see why such
 expressions should be so severely condemned The
 instances marked with an asterisk were very possibly by
 Anacreon, whom Gregorius mentions first

Demetrius From hyperboles arise especially the
 charms of comedies, and every hyperbole is an
 impossibility, such as this of Aristophanes Of the
 same kind are phrases such as , and these of
 Sappho —

(a) (A girl) Far sweeter-tuned than the lyre ,

(b) ,, More gold than gold

Gregorius The ear is tickled in an unseemly way by such erotic tricks of expression as are found in Anacreon and Sappho as for instance —

- (c) (a girl) Whiter than milk
- (d) Softer than water
- (e) More tuneful than the lyre
- (f) Dantier than roses
- (g) Softer than silk
- (h) More precious than gold
- (i) (A thing) More tender than a narcissus

160

Bergk 61 129 Edm 30 102

Logaoedic

Philostratus *Imagg* ii 1 Τοσοῦτον ἀμυλλῶνται αἱ παρθένοι ροδοπηχεῖς καὶ ἐλκωπιδες καὶ καλλιπάρηροι καὶ μελίφωνοι Σαφροῦς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἥδυν πρόσφθεγμα

Aristaenetus 1 10 Πρὸ τῆς παστάδος τοὶ υμνισταῖοι ἥδον αἱ μουσικωτέραι τῶν παρθένων καὶ μελλιχόφωνότεραι τοῦτο δὴ Σαφροῦς τὸ ἡδιστοὶ φθέγμα

Besides μελλιχόφωνος (or μελίφωνος) and the two other epithets above we find attributed by Atil Fortunat. to Sappho πάρθενον ἀδύφωνοι

For ἐλκωπ see 141, For βροδοπαχ 119 For μελίφωνοι cf Ox Pap 1786 6 and Anth. Pal x 66

Philostratus So vied with one another the maidens rosy armed bright-eyed fair-checked and honey voiced—this is Sappho's sweet appellation

Aristaenetus Before the bridal chamber was sung the wedding song by maidens that were the more musical and sweet voiced—this is Sappho's most sweet expression

A maiden sweet voiced

161

Edm , p 173

Demetrius, *Eloc* 132 . Εἰσὶν δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι χάριτες, οἷον Νυμφαῖοι κῆποι, ὑμέναιοι, ἔρωτες, ὅλη ἡ Σαπφούς ποιήσις

Demetrius Charm of style may reside in the subject, as in the case of Gardens of the Nymphs, Wedding songs, love episodes—in fact, the whole fabric of Sappho's poetry

162

Bergk, 124 , Edm 165

Demetrius, *Eloc* 166 Διὸ καὶ ἡ Σαπφὼ περὶ μὲν κάλλους ἄδουσα καλλιεπὴς ἐστὶ καὶ ἡδεῖα καὶ περὶ ἐρώτων δὲ καὶ ἔαρος καὶ περὶ ἀλκυόνης, καὶ ἅπαν καλὸν ὄνομα ἐνύφανται αὐτῆς τῇ ποιήσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ εἰργάσατο.

Demetrius Therefore also Sappho, when she sings of beauty, uses words that are beautiful and sweet, and when she sings, too, of love and of spring and of the halcyon , and woven into the texture of her poetry is every beautiful word, and in some cases she has coined the word herself

EPIGRAMS ATTRIBUTED TO SAPPHO

163

Suidas s v "Ἐγραψε δὲ ἡ Σαπφὼ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα καὶ ἱάμβους καὶ μονωδίας

Meleager, Anth Pal iv, Proem 3

Πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπλέξας Ἀνύτης κρίνα, πολλὰ δὲ Μοιροῦς
Λείρια, καὶ Σαπφούς βαιὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ ῥόδα

Whether these three epigrams in the Anth Pal were from Meleager's *Wreath* we don't know We may suppose everything of Sappho's would have been taken But these are scarcely worthy of her and unlike her other work See, however, Edm , *Proc Class Assoc* , 1921

EPIGRAMS

Suidas (*probably a later addition*) Sappho wrote epigrams and iambs and monodies (*her poems were mostly of this last character*)

Meleager Many a lily here of Anyte
 And many an amaryllis tall
 Is twined of Moero but Sappho of thee
 Few flowers yet they are roses all

Anth Pal vi 269 A note to the MS says not found
 in Michael's copy Bergk 118 Edm 143
Elegiacs App 33 "

Ὡς Σαπφούς

Παιδες αφωνος εοισα τόδ ειπέω αι τις ερηται
 φωναν ακαμάταν κατθεμένα πρό πόδων
 Αιθοπία με κόρα Λάτως ανέθηκει Αρίστω
 Ερμοκλειδαία τῷ Σαθναϊάδα
 σὰ πρόπολος δίσπουα γυναίκων ᾗ σὺ χαρεια
 πρόφρων αμετέραν εὐκλίσσοι γέναν

παις ει d Orville τόδ MS τετ Paton τόρ
 Cf Pausan 1 29 22 see Bergk 170

Supposed to be Sappho's

Ye maids if any ask though dumb I say
 With this voice at my feet untired for aye
 Me did Aristo handmaid of thine own
 O Queen of women dedicate in stone
 Daughter of Hermocleides Sauneus son
 A gift to Artemis Aethopia
 The child of Leto Thou of thy good grace
 In gratitude grant honour to our race

The statue is supposed to speak in the inscription on its base

5 Really "Son of Sauniadas", itself a patronymic

164

Anth Pal vii, 489, Planud 229, Bergk, 119, Edm 144
Elegiacs, App 33ⁿ

Σαπφούς εἰς Τιμάδα πρὸ γάμου τελευτήσασαν

Τίμαδος ἄδε κόνις, τὰν δὴ πρὸ γάμοιο θάνοισαν
δέξατο Φερσεφόνας κυάνεος θάλαμος,
ᾧς καὶ ἀποφθιμένας πᾶσαι νεόθαγι σιδάρῳ
ἄλικες ἱμέρταν κράτος ἔθεντο κόμαν

Nothing is known of Timas as a friend of Sappho's, unless we follow Edmonds' emendation of Fragn 97, see *Proc Class Assoc*, 1921

Sappho's to Timas, who died before her marriage

This dust was Timas her, ere she was wed,
Death welcomed to his darksome bridal bed,
Her girl friends on her tomb in sadness laid
Their new-shorn locks in honour of the maid

165

Anth Pal vii, 505, Planud 196, Bergk, 120, Edm 145
Elegiacs, App 33ⁿ

Εἰς Πελάγωνα Σαπφούς

Τῷ γρίπει Πελάγωνι πάτηρ ἐπέθηκε Μένισκος
κύρτον καὶ κώπαν μνᾶμα κακοζοῖας

No one can suppose that this is by Sappho

On Pelagon a Fisherman

To Pelagon, the fisher, on the shore
A tomb his sire Meniscus made,
Set there his trawler's basket and his oar,
To mark the hard toil of his trade

FRAGMENTS POSSIBLY FROM SAPPHO BUT NOT EXPLICITLY
ATTRIBUTED TO HER

166

Bergk 24 Edm 49

Adonius Aph 16

Ουτι μοι υμμες

Homer *Il* i 335 see above 153

Not at all to me are you

167

Bergk *Adesp* 46 A

Trochaic Aph 21

Εἴμ' ὡς ἀπ' ὑσσόκῳ λύθεισα

See Hoffm *Griech dialect* ii p 195

I will go as if released from a peg

168

Bergk *Adesp* 58

Logaoedic († *Choriambic*) *Aph* 21

ἀλλὰ τις αἰμὶ δαίμων

But to us some god

169

Bergk *Adesp* 77

Logaoedic

Γέλαν δ' ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ

Cf Hom *Il* i 599

And the immortal Gods laughed

If by Sappho possibly in an account of the wedding of
Heracles and Hebe cf 140 above

170

Bergk *Adesp* 60

Sapphic ?

Καὶ κατ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων . . .

or ὑψηλῶν

And down from the high mountains . . .

171

Bergk, *Adesp* 68

Hexameter ?

Παρὰ δέ σφι κόραι λευκάσπιδες . . .

Bergk suggests ἄσφι and thinks Amazons are meant.

And beside them the white-shielded maidens . . .

172

Bergk, *Adesp.* 75, *App* 24

Sapphic It seems to require a long syllable after εὔπετες

Πόθεν δέ τῷλκος εὔπετες ἔβλῃς ,

Cf Hom , *Il* v, 795, MS. δὲ ῥῶλκος.

Whence didst thou inflict the wound thus easily ?

173

Bergk, *Adesp* 74

Alcaic ?

Τυίδ' ὃν κολῶναν . . .

Hither up the hill . . .

174

Bergk, *Adesp* 65. Lobel, p 73

κλαῖτην δάκρυσι.

SPURIOUS POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO SAPPHO AND POEMS
ABOUT HER

- 1 Riddle and answer by Antiphanes
- 2 Skolion of Admetus
- 3 Poem by Anacreon
4. Supposed answer by Sappho
- 5 Sappho and Alcaeus by Hermesianax
- 6 Epigram by Nossis
- 7 Epigram by Dioscorides of Egypt.
- 8 Epigram by Tullius Laurea.
- 9 Epigram by Antipater of Thessalonica.
- 10 Anonymous on the 9 lyristis
- 11 Anonymous on the 9 lyristis
- 12 Anonymous To Sappho from the Muses

1

RIDDLE AND ANSWER ATTRIBUTED TO SAPPHO
Athenaeus x 451 From the *Sappho* of Antiphanes
(circa 365 B C)

Riddle

Ἔστι φύσις θήλεια βρέφη σωζουσα ὑπὸ κόλποις
αὐτῆς ὄντα δ' ἀφωνα βοῇν ἰστήσι γεγωνόν
καὶ δια πόντιον ὁδὸν καὶ ἡπείρου διὰ πύσης
οἷς ἐθέλει θνητῶν τοῖς δ' οὐ παρέουσιν ἀκούειν
ἔξ' ἐστὶν κωφὴν δ' ἀκοῆς αἰσθησὶν ἔχουσιν

Cleobulina of Lindus who was almost as early as
Sappho is said to have composed riddles

Riddle

There is a female thing that hides away
Her young within her womb where speechless they
Yet forth can send a sounding cry to fare
O'er swelling sea and all dry land where'er
For men they will and any that stand near
Seem rather a faint sound to feel than hear

2

Answer

θήλεια μὲν νῦν ἐστὶ φύσις ἐπιστολή,
 βρέφη δ' ἐν αὐτῇ περιφέρει τὰ γράμματα
 ἄφωνα δ' ὄντα ταῦτα τοῖς πόρρῳ λαλεῖ,
 οἷς βούλετ' ἕτερος δ' ἂν τύχῃ τις πλησίον
 ἐστὼς ἀναγιγνώσκοντος οὐκ ἀκούσεται.

Answer

The female thing I spoke of must, we see,
 None other than a written message be
 The young within her womb the letters are ,
 Though speechless, yet they talk to those afar,
 Whom e'er they will , but others, e'en if near,
 The voice of him that reads them may not hear

3

Cf also Athen. xv, 694 and 695 (*Three choiambes with basis*)

Ἀδμήτου σκόλιον

Eustath , *Il* 11, p 247 . Πausanías φησὶν ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ
 λεξικῷ, ὡς οἱ μὲν Ἀλκαίου φασὶν αὐτὸ, οἱ δὲ Σαπφούς, οἱ
 δὲ Πραξιλλῆς τῆς Σικυωνίας Ἀρχὴ δὲ τοῦ μελοῦς αὕτη
 Ἀδμήτου λόγον, ᾧ ταῖρε, μαθὼν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλει,
 τῶν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχου, γνοὺς ὅτι δειλοῖς ὀλίγα χάρις
 Probably by Praxilla

The Admetus " Catch "

Eustathius Pausanias says in his Attic Lexicon,
 that some say it is by Alcaeus, others by Sappho, and
 others by Praxilla the Sicyonian The beginning of the
 song is as follows —

Learn of Admetus' fate to brave men ever cling,
 The craven shun, for small the pleasure that they
 bring

4

SAPPHO AND ANACREON

(Apocryphal Intercourse)

Athenacus xiv 599 C Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ
Σαπφούς καὶ λέγειν τινὰς φησι εἰς αὐτὴν πεποιησθαι ὑπ'
Ἀνακρέοντος τὰδε (νῆξ Σφαίρη κ.τ.λ) καὶ Σαπφῶ δὲ πρὸς
αὐτὸν ταῦτά φησιν εἰπεῖν (Κήριον κ.τ.λ) Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ
ἐστὶ Σαπφούς τοῦτο τὸ ᾄσμα παντὶ που δῆλον

Bergh. Anacr 14

Σφαίρη δηῦτέ με πορφυρέη
βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἐρως
νήρι ποικιλοσαμβάλλῳ
συμπαλίζειν προκαλεῖται
ἢ δ' ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου
Λέσβου τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην
λευκὴ γάρ καταμέμφεται
πρὸς δ' ἄλλον τινὰ χάσκει

3 = νεπίδα.

Athenacus Chamaeleon in his treatise about Sappho
both asserts that according to some the following lines
(Eros of the golden hair etc.) were composed by Anacreon
to her and that Sappho also wrote these lines (O golden
throned etc.) to him but it is obvious I take it to all
that this poem is not by Sappho

By Anacreon

Eros of the golden hair
Strikes me with his purple ball
And to love's sweet play doth call
With a maid of sandal fair
But since age hath made me white
She in goodly Lesbos born
Thinking on my looks with scorn
Takes in younger pates delight

5

Supposed answer by Sappho

Bergk, 26

Κεῖνον, ὦ χρυσόθρονε Μοῦσ', ἐνισπες
 ὕμνον, ἐκ τῆς καλλιγύναικός ἔσθλας
 Τήιος χώρας, ὃν ἄειδες τερπνῶς
 πρέσβυς ἀγαυός

Supposed answer by Sappho

O golden-throned Muse,
 Teach me that song to use,
 That the old poet sung,
 A bard of glorious tongue,
 From Teos' noble strand,
 Of all fair maids the land

6

From Hermesianax in his Elegiacs 290 B C , Edm ,

p 144

Athen 599 C ἐν τούτοις ὁ Ἑρμησιάναξ σφάλλεται
 συγχρονεῖν οἰόμενος Σαπφῶ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα

Λέσβιος Ἀλκαῖος δὲ πόσους ἀνεδέξατο κώμους,

Σαπφούς φορμίζων ἱμερόεντα πόθον,

γινώσκεις ὁ δ' αἰδὸς ἀηδόνος ἡράσαθ' ὕμνων

Τήιον ἀλγύνων ἄνδρα πολυφραδίῃ

καὶ γὰρ τὴν ὁ μελιχρὸς ἐφωμίλησ' Ἀνακρείων

στελλομένην πολλαῖς ἄμμιγα Λεσβιάσι

φοίτα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν λείπων Σάμον, ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτὴν

οἰνῆρην ὄρεσιν κεκλιμένην πατρίδα,

Λέσβον ἐς εὖοιον

Cf Plut , *Symp* vii, 8, 2 (MS)

Athenaeus In these verses (Pieces 5 and 6) Hermesianax is mistaken in thinking that Sappho and Anacreon were contemporaries

How many a lay Alcaeus wrought needs not to tell
 In passionate love of Sappho on the lyre
 For that sweet nightingale of hymns he loved so well
 That his much praising roused the Teian sire.
 Since he too sought her honey-tongued Anacreon,
 When in her glory mid the Lesbian maids she played
 While from the sloping hills of viny Teos gone
 Or Samos he to wine-rich Lesbos strayed

EPIGRAMS RELATING TO SAPPHO

7

Anth. Pal. vii 718

By Nossis (circa 300 B C)

ὦ ξείν· εἰ τύ γε πλεῖς ποτὶ καλλίχορον Μυτιλάναν
 ταν Σαπφῶ Χαρίτων αἶθος ἐναυσσάμεναν
 εἰπεῖν ὡς Μούσαισι φίλαν τήν τε Λοκρὶς γὰ
 τέκτεν ἴσαν ὅτι θ' οἱ τουτομα Νόσσις ἰθι

Nossis to Sappho

Friend if to Mitylene lies thy way
 The isle of lovely dances that did rear
 Sappho the flower of all the Graces say
 That one the Locrian land can show
 As dear to all the Muses and her peer
 And that her name is Nossis—Go!

8

Anth. Pal. vii 407

By Dioscorides of Egypt (circa 180 B C)

Ἡδιστον φίλοισι νέοις προσανάκλιμ' ἐρωτῶν
 Σαπφῶ σὺν Μούσαις ἥ ρά σε Πιερίη
 ἢ Ἐλικῶν εὐκίστος Ἴσα πνέλουσαν ἐκείναις
 κοσμεῖ τὴν Ἐρέσφ' Μοῦσαν ἐν Αἰολίδι

- 5 ἥ καὶ Ὑμῆν Ὑμέναιος ἔχων εὐφεγγέα πεύκην
 σὺν σοὶ νυμφιδίων ἴσταθ' ὑπὲρ θαλάμων
 ἥ Κινύρεω νέον ἔρνος ὀδυρομένη Ἀφροδίτῃ
 σύνθρηνος, μακάρων ἱερὸν ἄλσος ὄρης
 πάντη, πότνια, χαῖρε θεοῖς ἴσα· σᾶς γὰρ αἰοιδάς
 10 ἀθανάτων ἄγομεν νῦν ἔτι θυγατέρας

7 i e Adonis

9 θεοῖς ἴσα Cf Sappho, 141

To Sappho

Thou of Aeolian Eresus the Muse,
 Sweet pillow for all youthful loves to use,
 Sappho, with whom each Muse her honour shares
 On Helicon, for thine is breath like theirs,—
 Either with thee, his lifted torch in hand
 Hymen beside the nuptial couch doth stand,
 Or Cinyras' son thou mournest, Cyprus' love,
 Looking upon the Blest One's holy Grove
 Hail, Queen, as gods are hailed, or near or far,
 For daughters of the gods thy songs still are

2 i e the book of her poems cf *The Return from Parnassus*, III, 1, 63

9

Anth Pal vii, 17, Edm, p 166

By Tullius Laurea (circa 60 B C)

- Αἰολικὸν παρὰ τύμβον ἰών, ξένε, μή με θανοῦσαν
 τὰν Μυτιληναίαν ἔννεπ' αἰδοπόλον
 τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἔκαμον χέρες ἔργα δὲ φωτῶν
 εἰς ταχυνὴν ἔρρει τοιάδε ληθεδόνα
 5 ἣν δέ με Μουσάων ἐτάσης χάριν, ὦν ἀφ' ἐκάστης
 δαίμονος ἄνθος ἐμῇ θῆκα παρ' ἐννεάδι,
 νῶσσαι ὥς Ἀἰδεω σκότον ἔκφυγον, οὐδέ τις ἔσται
 τῆς λυρικῆς Σαπφοῦς νώνυμος ἡέλιος

By Tullius Laurea

Stranger that passest by my Lesbian tomb
 Say not that Mitylene's bard is dead
 'Twas by men's hands upraised but by one doom
 Such works to swift forgetfulness are sped
 If for the Muses' sake thou ask—from whom
 A flower of each in my nine books I set—
 Know that escaped from Death's devouring gloom
 No sun shall lyric Sappho's name forget

10

Anth. Pal. ix 26

By Antipater of Thessalonica (circa 10 B.C.)

Τάσδε θεογλωσσούς Ελικῶν ἔθρεψε γυναίκας
 ὕμνοις καὶ Μακεδῶν Πιερίας σκόπελος
 Πρήξιλλαν Μοίρῳ Ἀνυτῆς στόμα θῆλυν Ὀμηρον
 Λεσβιάδων Σαπφῶ κόσμον ἑὺπλοκάμαν
 5 Ἥρῳ τ' Ἀντιφάτῃ ἀγακλέᾳ καὶ σέ Κόρινθα
 βοῦρῳ Ἀθηναίῃς ἀσπίδα μελψαμένην
 Νοσσίδα θηλυγλωσσὸν ἰδε γλυκυαχέα Μύρτιν
 πάσας ἀνδρῶν ἐργάτιδας σελίδων
 ἐνέα μὲν Μούσας μέγας Οὐρανός ἐνέα δ' αὐτὰς
 10 Γαῖα τέκεν θνατοῖς ἄφθιτον εὐφροσύναν

3 θηλ. Ὀμ. usually taken as descriptive of Anyte, as its position should make it, but does it not refer to Σαπφῶ? Cf. above Anth. Pal. vii, 15 Besides the words go much better in apposition to Σαπφῶ than to στόμα.

By Antipater

Lo these are the women of god-like tongue
 Whom Helicon fed with Pierian song
 Praxilla and Moero and Anyté famed
 And as Homer of women for aye to be named
 Thou Sappho the glory beyond compare
 Of Lesbian women with lovely hair

Telesilla, Erinna, Korinna renowned,
 With whose praises Athena's stout shield doth resound
 And Nossis soft-voicèd and Myrtis sweet-toned,
 Whose pages shall never by Time be disowned
 From great Heaven nine Muses, these nine too from
 Earth,
 As a deathless delight unto men, had their birth

11

Anth Pal 1x, 184

Anonymous

Πίνδαρε, Μουσάων ἱερὸν στόμα, καὶ λάλε Σειρήν,
 Βακχυλίδη, Σαπφούς τ' Αἰολίδες χάριτες,
 γράμμα τ' Ἀνακρείοντος, Ὀμηρικὸν ὅς τ' ἀπὸ ρεῦμα
 ἔσπασας οἰκείοις, Στησίχορ', ἐν καμάτοις,
 ἧ τε Σιμωνίδεω γλυκερὴ σέλις, ἡδύ τε Πειθοῦς,
 Ἰβυκε, καὶ παίδων ἄνθος ἀμυσάμενε,
 καὶ ξίφος Ἀλκαίοιο, τὸ πολλάκις αἶμα τυράννων
 ἔσπεισεν, πάτρης θέσμια ρύόμενον,
 θηλυμελεῖς τ' Ἀλκμᾶνος ἀηδόνες, ἴλατε πάσης
 ἀρχὴν οἱ λυρικῆς καὶ πέρας ἐστάσατε.

Anonymous

The Nine Lyrists

Pindar, the sacred mouth of the Muses, and thou fluent
 siren,
 Bacchylides, Sappho's lovely Aeolian charm,
 Master-hand of Anacreion, and thou, that didst borrow
 Water from Homer's stream, Stesichorus, for thy mill,
 Simonides' sweet page, and Ibycus, thou who didst gather
 Honeyed Persuasion's bloom, bloom too of boys and
 their love,

Patriot sword of Alcaeus that didst so oft against tyrants
 Champion his country's laws bathing thy edge in their
 blood
 Thy nightingales too O Alcman with voices soft as a
 maiden's
 Look ye with grace upon me authors and enders of
 song

12

Scholiast on the *Vita Pindari*

Anonymous

Εἰς τοὺς ἐννέα Λυρικοὺς

*Εννέα τῶν πρῶτων λυρικῶν πατρὴν γενέτην τε
 μάθανε καὶ πατέρας καὶ διάλεκτον ἀθραι
 ὦν Μυτιληναῖος μὲν εἴην γεραρωτερός ἀλλαν
 Ἀλκαῖος πρότερος ἡχικὸς Αἰολίδος
 ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ ξυγῆν πατρὴν φωνήν τε δαεῖσα
 Σαπφῶ Κλήϊδος καὶ πατρὸς Εὐρυγυνοῦ*

On the Nine Lyrists

The nine first lyrists race and country learn
 Their native speech and parentage discern
 Of Mitylene earliest of the throng
 Alcaeus herald of Aeolian song
 And she who shared his fatherland and tongue
 Sappho of Cleis and Eurygyus sprung

13

Anth Pal ix 521

Anonymous

Εἰς Σαπφῶ παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν

*Οὐκ ἀρα σοὶ γε ὀλλίζον ἐπὶ κλέος ὠπασε Μοῖρα
 ἥματι τῷ πρῶτῳ φῶς ἴδεις ἀελίου*

Σαπφοῖ σοὶ γὰρ ῥῆσιν ἐνεύσαμεν ἄφθιτον εἶμεν,
 σὺν δὲ πατὴρ πάντων νεῦσεν ἐρισφάραγος
 μέλψη δ' ἐν πάντεσσιν ἀοίδιμος ἀμερίοισιν,
 οὐδὲ κλυτὰς φάμας ἔσσεαι ἡπεδανά

To Sappho, from the Muses

No little glory Fate apportioned thee,
 When first thou lookedst on the light of day,
 Sappho, we promised that thy songs should never die,
 And the great sire in thunder answered "Aye"
 All mortal men in song shall hail thy name,
 And endless be thy honour and thy fame



A BRONZE
1 the British Museum



A BROKEN SARD
1 the British Museum (No. 556)

OVID'S EPISTLE OF SAPPHO TO PHAON

Heroides VI

In spite of de Vries and I uñík and other defenders the authenticity of this Epistle remains doubtful. It is certainly in Ovid's style but scarcely a favourable specimen of it and reads perhaps more like a clever imitation. We know from an allusion elsewhere in Ovid¹ that he did write an Epistle of Sappho to Phaon and that Sabinus a friend of his wrote a supposed answer from Phaon. But both external and internal evidences are very strong against this Epistle that we have being the one which Ovid wrote. It does not appear in the best and earliest MSS. of Ovid or in Planudes' translation. When found it is generally separate from other Ovidian writings and never placed with the *Heroides* the latter perhaps naturally as Sappho is not a legendary heroine. One MS. says that it was translated from the Greek a statement evidently based on line 5². If there is any truth in the idea the Greek source would be Callimachus in his *Aitia* to which Birt traces the Naiad the leap from the rock and the lyre dedicated to Apollo. The form Anactone betrays a poetical source.

The internal evidence is no less unfavourable. There are serious difficulties in respect of metre grammar vocabulary allusions and style. We find words not used elsewhere in Ovid words employed in an unusual sense allusions such as that to the witch Erichtho³ which belongs to the Neronian age and phrases like *se dolor*

¹ *Amor.* II, 18.

Rhein Mus. xxxii 399

² This is now rejected for *Ergo*.

invenit (1113), which also savour of Nero's time, grammar and scansion almost impossible to Ovid, absurdities like the story of Deucalion attempting the Lover's Leap, and Sappho telling Phaon of all the girls she had loved. The accumulative effect of all these banal and un-Ovidian traits is very great, and it is impossible to feel any confidence in the Ovidian authorship of the Epistle.

The author, whoever he was, knew something about the facts of Sappho's life, for instance, what he says about Charaxus, the brother of Sappho, is partly corroborated by Herodotus. He tells us a fact not mentioned elsewhere, that Sappho lost her father (*parens*) when she was six. The details of her appearance were taken probably from Chamaeleon, from whom possibly Maximus Tyrius also took his statement on the subject.

Besides Chamaeleon, this writer is the only one who seems to take for granted that Sappho was guilty of perverted affection for her girl friends or pupils. He may have drawn from Chamaeleon or more directly from the comic writers. But there is no real evidence that the latter depicted Sappho as worse than a courtesan and a lover of Phaon. There is no sign in the whole Epistle of any acquaintance with Sappho's own writings, as far as the fragments we have of her are concerned, except perhaps in line 18 with reference to Atthis. Lunák's treatise on this point is a piece of special pleading and most inconclusive.

A careful study of the whole poem impresses us more and more with its fictitious nature. But it is chiefly owing to this reputed work of Ovid's, and two or three allusions elsewhere, that Sappho's reputation has suffered so much in later days. Yet the justifiable doubt as to its authorship and its vapid and superficial character deprive it of any right to be taken seriously as evidence for Sappho's

life and character. It is certain however that Ovid himself must have had Sappho's writings in his library though he does not seem to have borrowed from them as Catullus did. If we had more of Sappho's work possibly we should modify this judgment.

Sappho to Phaon

- Say when your eyes upon my letter fall
 Does it the writer to your mind recall?
 Or did you not thereon read Sappho's name
 Could you not guess whence that short missive came?
 5 But why these elegiacs I have sent
 Fain would you ask though lyrics are my bent
 Sad is my love and elegies sad songs
 But to my lyre no tearful theme belongs
 I burn as when by east winds fiercely driven
 10 Through the rich cornfield flares the fire to heaven
 The fields of Etna Phaon treads apart
 A fire no less than Etna's scars my heart
 My strings are tuned but no song comes to me
 A mind that speaks in song is fancy free
 15 The maids of Pyrrha and Methymna's shore
 And all the Lesbian girlhood charm no more
 Nought Anactoria Cydro nought I prize
 / No more is Atthis gracious in my eyes.
 A hundred more I loved that were my blame
 20 Shameless what many shared you selfish claim!
 You beauty have you youth for dalliance meet
 Snare set to catch my eyes O beauty sweet!
 Take bow and lyre as Phoebus you shall show
 Bind horns upon your brow and Bacchus go!
 25 One for Crete's maid for Daphné one did long
 But she nor she knew aught of lyric song

- The Muses gave me sweetest songs to sing,
And through the wide world now my fame doth ring
Alcaeus claims (our land, our lyre the same)
30 Though grander notes he strike, no higher fame
My wit that want of beauty has supplied
Which niggard nature to my form denied
Small am I, but a name for earth and sea
Too large is mine *that* shall my measure be
35 If dark my hue, yet was Andromeda fair
In Perseus' eyes, though dark her mien and hair
So white doves oft with varied mates are seen
And oft black turtles mated are with green
If but your peer alone can please your mind,
40 Then you no mate, then you no mate shall find
But, when you read me, then I seemed still fair,
That I alone should speak, you used to swear
I sang, I well remember—lovers do—
Kisses you took and gave me singing, too
45 This won your praise, in every part I pleased,
And chiefly then, when Love his longing eased
Then was my sportiveness your rare delight,
And dear my mirth and quickness in your sight
How sweet, when our twin joys had had their fill,
50 To lie in dreamy languor tired and still !
Sicilian girls, new booty, round you throng,
Lesbos avaut ! To Sicily I belong
But send him back, who thus has truant played,
Megarian mother and Megarian maid
55 Be not deceived by flattery's lying word ,
He says to you what my ears too have heard
O Thou, who Eryx for thy home hast made,
I am thy mouthpiece Queen, be thou my aid !
Or does stern Fortune, to her purpose true,
60 The cruel tenour of her way pursue ?

- Six winters old was I when ere his years
 The ashes of a parent drank my tears
 My brother for a harlot's love aflame
 A wastrel¹ mingled loss with his foul shame.
- 65 Impov'rish't with swift oars he roves the main
 And wealth ill lost he seeks as ill to gain.
 Me too he hateth for the truths he learned
 Such meed my conscience and my free-speech earned
 In case my ills should cease that endless were
- 70 My little daughter brings me care on care
 Thou comest last of all to crown my woes
 Against the wind my labouring vessel goes
 Lo on my neck dishevelled falls the hair
 No sparkling jewels on my hand I wear
- 75 Mean is my dress no gold gleams on my head
 Nor Araby's sweet dew's their fragrance shed
 Whom should I strive to dress for whom to please?
 My love's own idol dwells beyond the seas
 Soft is my heart that every dart can slay
- 80 And cause for aye is there to love for aye
 Whether at birth the sisters span it so
 That no harsh threads should through my fabric go
 Or moulded by the influence of my art,
 Thalia's teaching softens all my heart
- 85 What wonder then that I was led astray
 By youth's smooth cheeks and love's triumphant
 day?
- I feared thou Dawn would'st take him for thine own
 Twere done did Cephalus not hold his throne
 Look but on him who look'st on all O Moon
- 90 And Phaon thou wilt bid not wake too soon.
 Venus had rapt him in her car on high
 But feared her Mars too might his beauty eye

¹ Reading *meets* for *meets*.

- Sweet years ! O not-yet-youth, no-more-a-boy,
Of all your age the jewel and the joy !
95 O fairest, come, sink back into my bay .
“ Love not , let me but love,” is all I pray
Now, as I write, my swelling tears o’erflow .
See here how many a smear this page can show !
If go you must, why not with gentler eye,
100 And saying merely, “ Lesbian maid, good-bye ! ”
My tears and my last kiss you did disdain ,
I knew not then how deep my future pain
Nothing I have of you, but shame and ill ,
You nought that tells of me, your lover still
105 No task I set you and no task can set,
Save this, that you shall not my love forget
By Love (ne’er can He from your side depart !),
By the Nine Muses, dearest to my heart,
When one but told me all my joys were fled,
110 I swear, not long I wept, nor word I said,
Mine eyes no tears could give, my tongue no sound
And all my breast with icy frost was bound
When sorrow found her voice, I beat my breast,
And tore my hair, and wailed with grief opprest,
115 As when a mother to the pyre up-piled
Attends the lifeless body of her child
Charaxus laughs and battens on my woe,
My brother he, and passes to and fro ,
Making more shameful my griefs’ cause, he cried
120 “ Why grieves she thus ? Her daughter has not
died ”
How little love and shame can e’er agree !
My mangled breast lay bare for all to see
Phaon my thoughts possess, my dreams portray,
Dreams brighter than the glory of the day
125 In these I find you, though afar you live,

- But short too short the joys that sleep can give
Oft on your arms I seem my head to rest
And oft lay yours upon my tender breast.
Sometimes to coaxing words so real I take
130 My lips and all my senses are awake
I taste your kisses tongue to tongue again
Kisses so given once and once so ta en.
I blush to tell what follows—love's full rites
How sweet! Without you love hath no delights.
135 But when day shows herself and all beside
I murmur that my dreams so soon have died
To cave and wood I go as though in these
Were healing they saw all that most did please.
Frenzied as if by wild Enyo led
140 With hair dishevelled to those scenes I fled.
The caves o'erhung with rough sandstone I see
That erst of choicest marble seemed to be.
The grove I find where oft our couch was spread
And leafy boughs o'ercanopied our bed
145 But find not that wood's master and my own
Barren the spot now he its wealth alone
I saw the sward our limbs had pressed so late
And the soft grass still hollowed with our weight
I lay and touched the spot where you had lain
150 The grass once dear now drank my eyes salt rain
The boughs too seem with drooping leaves to sigh
And birds no more sing sweet laments thereby
Sad Philomel alone doth there complain.
For not her husband but her Itys slain
155 She Itys sings Sappho her lonely love
Till midnight hushes all the silent grove.
Here wells a sacred spring more bright and fair
Than crystal streams some deem a god dwells there

- Above, a branching lotus spreads a screen,
160 Itself a grove, and round it all is green
Here, when I laid my woe-worn limbs to rest,
A Naiad stood before my eyes confest,
And said " Since thou the fire of love no more
Canst bear, betake thee to Ambracia's shore
165 There Phoebus scans the wide sea from his shrine,
Of Actium and Leucadia King divine
From here Deucalion, Pyrrha's love to gain,
Leapt down himself, unhurt, into the main
And straight Love turned and touched soft Pyrrha's
heart,
170 And freed Deucalion's bosom from the smart
This custom holds · seek thou Leucadia's steep,
And fear not boldly from the rock to leap "
She spake , and voice and she are gone I rise
And the full tear-drops trickle from my eyes
175 I go, O Nymph, to the appointed shore ,
By frantic love possest, I'll fear no more
Whate'er my fate, 'twere better so Come, breeze,
So light a body thou shalt bear with ease
Let thy wings too, soft Love, my limbs sustain,
180 Nor by my death Leucadia's waters stain
My lyre, joint pride, on Phoebus I'll bestow,
And this short couplet shall be carved below
" To thee by Sappho dedicated be "
This lyre, as fitting her, as fitting thee "
185 Yet why send me, poor wretch, to Actium's shore,
When you could your own truant self restore,
Ablar to heal than all Leucadia's wave,
As fair a Phoebus and a friend as brave ?
Or can you, harder than the rocks and seas,
190 A glorious title take from my decease ?



SAPPHO IN REVERIE
(From terracotta relief at Rome)

- How better far my breast to yours were prest
Than I cast headlong from Leucate's crest !
That breast that Phaon once your praise inspired
That seemed to you so oft with genius fired
195 Would I could sing but grief has killed my heart
And ill's destroyed my genius and my art
No more my songs display their ancient skill
And grief my lyre has hushed its strings are still
O Lesbian maids unwed O Lesbian dames
200 Dear to Aeolian song your Lesbian names
Lesbians whose love ill fame to me did bring
No longer gather round to hear me sing
With Phaon fled all that you deemed divine—
Ah me how near I called him Phaon mine !
205 Bring him but back my songs I'll sing once more
He makes my genius droop he makes it soar
Are prayers of use ? Do they his rude heart
sway ?
Or is *that* hard and winds bear *those* away ?
Let those that take my words bring back your
sail
210 That was your task if you but knew O Snail
But votive gifts aboard if now you start
For home why with delays torment my heart ?
Launch forth ! a smooth sea and a favouring gale
Venus sea born to lovers sends set sail !
215 Cupid will from the stern your vessel steer ,
His own soft hands control the sail and gear
But if you will from Lesbian Sappho fly
(No worthy reason can you give me why)
Yet bid me wretched in one line of hate
220 Go to Leucadia's waves and tempt my fate

THE RHYTHMS AND METRES OF SAPPHO

§ 1 Sappho was an accomplished musician and dancer as well as a supreme poet, and her pre-eminence in poetry was no doubt largely due to her mastery of the two sister arts ¹ The link between these three, dancing, music, and poetry (and the greatest of these is poetry), is to be found in rhythm, which is time measured by some kind of movement Steps, when subjected to rhythmical movement, become a dance, speech becomes poetry when its accented and unaccented syllables are regulated by rhythmical order Poetical ideas, even when expressed in poetical words, are not enough of themselves to constitute poetry, they require a certain ordered rhythm But the Greeks made music the handmaid of poetry Thus music in early times had no existence entirely independent of poetry, as our highest music can have It was bound in a close union with poetry, the words of which could not express their full emotional meaning without the music, and in some cases without the motions and gestures of the dance With us it is not so A Schumann or a Schubert may marry his airs to the verse which he is setting to music, but in most instances the poet and musician function apart, and the music overrides the words (which are used only as a vehicle for its expression) and does not merely interpret them Tennyson was not musical in the technical sense, but his verse was often eminently so On the other hand Browning was a good musician, while much of his poetry is harsh and untunable

¹ Dance was to the sung lyric as gesticulation to the orator, but a more refined and subtle adjunct

§ 2 Unfortunately our knowledge of Greek music is still far from complete. Despite the right happy labours during the past fifty years of Westphal Schmidt Christ Abdy Williams¹ and others which have thrown an unexpected and welcome light on this subject we are not yet in a position to appreciate to the full the part played by music in the poems of Sappho. It is known that the Greeks developed rhythm in some directions further than moderns for not having any real knowledge of harmony or counterpoint (an English discovery by the way) they were obliged to get the utmost that they could from the means at their disposal. To give one example we do not employ quintuple measures such as cretics (— — —) to anything like the extent that the Greeks did. They were evidently able to appreciate that particular rhythm much more easily and fully than we in spite of its use in our folk-songs such as Barbara Allen.

§ 3 Dracon of Stratoniceia wrote a treatise on the metres of Sappho which has unfortunately not come down to us. As it is in dealing with Sappho's rhythms and metres we are not only handicapped at the start by our general ignorance of Greek music but we are further at a loss in divining the correct metre and consequent rhythm of many of Sappho's lyrics owing to their mutilated condition. Modern metricians moreover differ considerably from the conclusions of the ancient writers on classical metres such as Hephaestion² though these had the complete works of Sappho before them and knew how they were sung. The technical terms which they used in discussing the subject have been inherited by us but they form a jargon somewhat repellent to the ordinary

¹ *The Aristoxenian Theory of Music* and other works. For a useful Bibliography see Weir Smyth *Greek Melic Poets* p. cxl.

² About A.D. 170.

reader Unfortunately a convincing treatment of the whole question requires a thorough knowledge of music, such as comparatively few people possess, combined with an intimate acquaintance with classical models, which is still less common

§ 4 Greek music was divided into several *ἁρμονίαι*, or "modes", which varied in pitch and character, and were associated with different emotional effects But these effects must in reality have been due far more to the *tempo*, in which the melody was sung, and the variations of rhythm introduced Sappho's favourite modes were the Aeolian and Lydian, which from their varied and tender character were especially suited to the logaoedic rhythms in which she delighted Terpander, Sappho's fellow-countryman, had introduced the former mode, which was particularly adapted for the lyre Pratīnas,¹ a contemporary of Aeschylus in the fifth century, advises his hearers to eschew the higher and lower-pitched melodies and, ploughing the middle furrow, to *αἰολίζειν τῷ μέλει* Sappho is credited by some with having invented, or introduced from Lydia, the *pēctis*,² a kind of harp, with somewhat shrill notes, and also made use of a new "mode", the Mixolydian,³ which perhaps did not differ much from the plaintive and high-pitched (*querulus*) Lydian mode This went well with the youthful voices that accompanied the songs of Sappho It is possible that Sappho was almost as great an inventor and artist in music as in poetry, but our evidence will not take us further than the assurance that she was at all events a thoroughly competent musician Like most great poets she invented new metres to supply her needs, and

¹ Athen xii, 624

² Athen xiv, 635 E

³ Plutarch, *Mus* 6

her favourite Sapphic stanza (whether invented by her or not) still goes by her name. Her usual instrument was the tortoise-shell lyre called by herself *chelys*¹. The kithara was a stronger instrument in a squarer frame more suitable for public playing. The lyre is sometimes represented with four and sometimes with seven (or more) strings.

§ 5 In dealing with Sappho's musical rhythms and quantitative metres we must at the outset realize that the musical *ictus* or beat has nothing to do with the accent on a word. Each syllable is a note or tone and the quantity of the syllable depends on the duration of the note upon it, the intonation on the intensity of the tone and the accent on its elevation. In English we have no real *metre* but only rhythm which follows the accent. Taking the short syllable or quaver as the unit of time, the ancient metricians mostly counted every long syllable as equivalent to two short ones. But in musical rhythms as applied to poetry, a long syllable may be made short or a short syllable long according as the voice dwells upon it or slurs it. The last syllable in a line whatever its quantity can be counted long or short.

§ 6 Before we proceed to classify the metres and rhythms used by Sappho it will be necessary to explain some of the more technical terms used in this connexion. The syllable which bears the ictus or stress (sometimes represented by an acute accent or a dot, if a secondary ictus is marked, the sign on the primary one being doubled) is called the *thesis* and the unstressed syllable the *arsis* which words mean the down setting and the up-lifting.

¹ *Fragm. 2*, or *chelynnna* 41. Cf. also Ovid *Heroid.* xv 181. Sappho also mentions the *barbitos* or *sarbitos* (see *Vocab.* and Ovid *Heroid.* xv 8) and the *πάππος* or *βάρππος* (*Athen.* iv 187).

of the foot in marching ¹ Sometimes, a whole dipody, or double foot, can be in thesis and a second dipody in arsis. The term *anacrusis* is applied to a preliminary note or notes, forming a sort of signal-beat, or "strike-up" to the rhythm that follows, but not belonging to it. Anacrusis is used with the limitation that it must never be greater or less in time than the arsis of the following metre, for, example, a dactylic metre must not have an anacrusis of a time value longer than two quavers. When this rule is apparently violated, this is due to the admission of an *irrational* syllable, which though long in metre can be, musically, sung short ² This term is also applied to a long syllable in the second, i.e. the unemphasized, foot of a dipody, where a short would have been expected. This weakening of the second dipody is due to the fact that the thesis is on the first dipody. But the liberty is not very often taken, and, if taken, then probably with an intentional effect upon the rhythm. Lines with anacrusis start off with more energy and impetus than those that are without it. So the Alcaic is a stronger and brisker measure than the Sapphic.

§ 7 Not only can a long syllable be slurred over so as to be shortened, but it can be dwelt on so as to have the value of a trochee (— ◡), when it is written ⊥, or of two longs, when it is written ⊔. At the end of a line the last syllable can be lengthened by the musical rest, so that a long syllable has the value of a trochee (— ◡), when it is marked — ˘,³ or of a spondee ⊔, or of a quaver more ˘, or a crochet more ˘˘.



¹ Or the downward beat of the baton and its raising again for the next beat. Unfortunately later grammarians chose to reverse the terms, a bad example followed by many moderns. This often further perplexes a perplexing subject.

² It is often marked < to show this.

³ This sign stands for ˘ the first letter of λείμμα.

Besides the anacrusis some metres have a preliminary foot called the *basis* which does not like the anacrusis stand outside the metre but forms a sort of introduction to it. It may be represented by — ◡ or — — or ◡ — or even by ◡ ◡ when it is indistinguishable from the anacrusis if we have only one line to judge by.

§ 8 When as in logaoedic¹ rhythms dactyls are interspersed among trochees in order to get the necessary musical symmetry between the bars the dactyls have to be sung in the same time as the trochees. Such dactyls are either called *cyclic* dactyls² and are musically represented by a dotted quaver, a semi-quaver and a quaver both the first and second syllables losing some of their time value or are termed *choreic* dactyls expressed in musical notation by a crotchet and two semi-quavers where the second and third syllables of the dactyl are shortened from one-eighth notes to one-sixteenth notes. These two forms of dactyl may be written one as 3/8

 the other as 3/8 

It is not easy to distinguish between the usage of these allied forms. The difference is really one of ictus³. Dactyls in a passage of three-eighths time (i.e. when the foot is equivalent to ◡ ◡ ◡) must be treated as choreic rather than cyclic when there is a succession of them and they are not in close alternation with trochees.

§ 9 There are more than thirty-five different measures found in our extant remains of Sappho⁴. Her favourite form was the logaoedic of which the Sapphic stanza

¹ From λόγος speech and δαῖς song as partaking of the character of both.

² The first foot in 'Little Bo Peep has lost her sheep' is a cyclic dactyl.
³ See Schmidt, *Rhythmic and Metric* (Engl. Transl.) p. 50. Farnell *Greek Lyric Poetry* p. 63. The latter only gives the choreic dactyl in Fragment 125 (not in 18). Recent criticism tends to reject cyclic dactyls.

⁴ I cannot identify the fifty mentioned by Professor Gilbert Murray.

is an example Its varied and lively character made it especially suitable for expressing rapid changes of thought and feeling in an easy and flowing rhythm, akin to those of folk-song and dance The basic foot of logaoedics is the trochee, with which the dactyl is mingled not at haphazard, but so as to subserve the thought and feeling of the poem It is a measure perfectly familiar to us not only in our nursery songs, but also in the highest forms of poetry, which aim at the most musical and imaginative effects

§ 10 Take for instance "Old King Cole", a favourite of our childhood —

Óld King Cólé was a mérry old sòul
 Ànd à mérry old sòul was hé,
 Hě cálléd for his pípe, and he cálléd for his bówl,
 Ànd hě cálléd for his fíddlers thrée
 Évëry fíddler, he hād a fíddle,
 Ànd à vëry fine fíddle had hé

And as an instructive contrast let us set down the exquisite verses chosen for the first poetry recitation competition at Oxford,¹ the charm of which, as recited by successful girl voices made a marked impression on the hearers They are part of a poem to Night by Shelley, that master of verbal music ² —

Swiftly walk óver the wéstern wáve,
 Spírit of níght !
 Óút of the místy eástern cáve,
 Whère áll the lóng and lóne daylíght
 Thöu wóvest dréams of jóy and féar,
 Whích máke thee térríblé and deár,
 Swift be thy flíght !

¹ Also quoted by Professor Farnell for the same purpose of illustration as here, p 48

² Though not himself "musical", see above, § 1

Wrap thy form in a mantle gréy
 Stár inwrought !
 Blínd with thine hír the éyes of dáy
 Kíss her until she be weaned out
 Thén wánder o'er cíty and s'éa and lánd
 Touching áll with thine ópiate wand—
 Cóme long sóught !

§ 11 These passages illustrate many of the rhythmical features of Greek lyric. They are both composed of trochees and dactyls irregularly placed. The former is in tetrameter lines¹ alternating with trimeters the latter in trimeters with a dimeter after the first and last line in each stanza. As the leading lines in both pieces are tetrameters consisting of four equal feet the ultimate monosyllables *soul*² *wave* etc. must represent in the matter of time a double syllable. What is wanting in the verbal metre is made up by the musical rest at the end of the line which allows the sound to be prolonged so as to correspond with the metre of the other feet making the long syllable equal to — —³. Such a line is called by the grammarians *catalectic* or incomplete. The first line of *Old King Cole* would have been acatalectic or complete if it had run —

Old King Cole was a merry old monarch

but how flat and feeble would such a conclusion have been! To avoid this we should have been obliged perforce to make *monarch* two feet the first syllable being what is called syncopated and marked rhythmically as L (— —)

¹ Catalectic or incomplete

² It is possible however in this case to take the anacrusis of the following line to complete the time of this word

³ See § 7

and the second again made equivalent by the rest to a trochee (— ^), thus restoring the catalectic form

The syllables which stand outside the rhythm and are marked here by —, form the anacrusis spoken of above. It would be possible, in some cases,¹ to scan each couplet as forming one rhythm and so dispense with the services of the musical rest. In Shelley's lines the unaccented syllables are more detached from the rhythm than in the nursery ditty

§ 12 We meet here with the irrational feet which we have described above, for instance, *walk* must be for rhythmic purposes pronounced short and counted in music as a quaver. We have already spoken of the procrustean powers of music in making syllables conform to the prevailing rhythm.

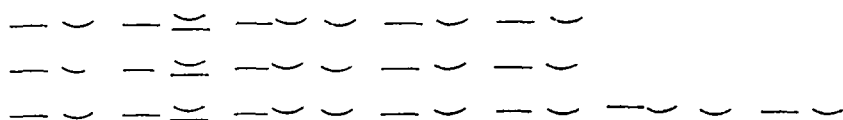
§ 13 From what has been already said, it is clear that metrical scansion and musical rhythm are quite different things. For instance, the metre may be choriambic, that is, formed of feet composed of trochee and iambus back to back (— — —), but the musical rhythm cannot easily assimilate such a combination. It has to divide the foot into a dactyl and one long syllable, slurring the dactyl to make it equivalent to a trochee in time, and lengthening the long syllable so that it too has the same time of a crotchet and a quaver. This is effected by musical *τονή*.

§ 14 Great uncertainty attends the exact scansion of many lyrical metres. For instance, the first Ode of Horace² may be scanned in several ways. The second

¹ See an interesting article on the *Rationale of Verse*, by E. A. Poe, who treats in this way Byron's musical poem, "The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold." Cf. also Scott's "There is mist on the mountain" (Flora MacIvor's song).

² In what is called the Lesser Asclepiad metre. Cf. **Fragments 44, 61.**

§ 16 The Sapphic stanza¹ was rhythmically as follows —



The first two lines are identical, and the third only differs from them in having two additional feet, generally written separately as a fourth line, but so closely connected with the third, as to allow, in Sappho, a word to be divided between them² The rhythm is logaoedic, and consists of trochees with a cyclic dactyl in the third place of the first three lines, and the first place of the fourth line In the second beat of the second foot a long syllable occurs, in the first line 29 times to 12 where it is short, in the second 25 to 14, in the third 23 to 16, making in all 77 lines with irrational long to 42 with the natural short In transferring the metre to Latin Horace made the irrational spondee invariable The addition to the third line is called the *Adonius*, from the refrain ὦ τὸν Ἀδωνιν,³ being metrically a choriambus and a long syllable But it is really identical with the end of a hexameter line Victorinus calls it a δίμοιρον ἐπικόν

§ 17 It is not improbable that Alcaeus invented the metre, for the Alcaic metre is only a somewhat stronger form of it, the last syllable of the Sapphic being transferred to the beginning as anacrusis The Adonius must have been a favourite rhythm with Sappho, as according

¹ Called by Hephaestion Σαπφικὸν ἑνδεκάσύλλαβον ἐπιχωριαμβικόν, compounded of discordant feet (choriambi and trochees)

² Fragment 3, lines 11 and 12

³ Fragment 91 It does not seem to differ materially from our "Old Mother Hubbard"

to our own Irish Columban¹ she composed whole poems in this dimeter of five syllables

The poems must have been short ones for the continued repetition of such brief unvarying lines would soon pall by its monotony. Possibly the dimeter was sometimes doubled and a line formed of two adoniuses making such a line for instance as in **Fragment 85** *Σκιδναμένας ἐν στῆθεσιν ὄργας* which may be rendered rhythmically —

— — — — — > — — — — — or — — — — — > — — — — — Λ²

§ 18 Another refrain of a similar character but a syllable longer is found in *Ω τὸν Ἀδωνιοι³. It can be scanned as two dactyls or as a choriambus and iambus. In the former case the rhythm would be purely dactylic like our *What can the matter be?* in the latter a cyclic dactyl a trochee and a long syllable filled out by the musical rest to the value of a trochee

A Glyconic verse is found in **Fragment 97**⁴ consisting of a trochee as basis (or anacrusis) and two dactyls (or dactyl trochee and — Λ). There is a similar verse in **Fragment 7** lines 1 and 2 in each stanza except that the basis has an irrational spondee as often as a trochee. Line 2 in each stanza of **Fragment 6**⁵ presents some different features in that in two instances out of six it transposes the dactyl and trochee which shows that the line is a logaoedic tetrameter and the basis in one instance is like an anacrusis consisting of two shorts. Abdy Williams thinks that Glyconics (but those he

¹ *Epist. ad Fedolium*

² Cf. *Little Jack Horner Sat in a corner*. But Sappho's metre may be dactylic tetrameter.

Cf. **Fragment 92, 93**, called by Mar. Plotius the hymeneal dactylic dimeter.

⁴ From Book V as Athenaeus tells us. The Glyconic is used by Horace in his Third *Asclepiad* i, 3 13 19 etc. Cf. also **Fragment 157**.

⁵ See §§ 23 32

and also perhaps, without basis (in the first line), in **44**. It is the metre of *Maecenas alavis edite regibus* **Fragment 99** may be made to conform to it by adding $\textcircled{\Omega} \Psi \acute{\alpha} \pi \phi \omicron \iota$ at the beginning. Similarly **Fragments 64** and **112** depend for their conformity on conjectural restoration. The few syllables of **103** may be the beginning of such a line.

§ 29 Allied to the choriambic measures are the *Ionic a maiore* and *Ionic a minore* (— — — — — — — —) They show excitement, enthusiasm, or anxiety, but less emotional feeling than choriambi. The *a minore* was a somewhat stronger rhythm than the other, beginning as it did with an anacrusis¹. Owing to the irregularities allowed in this measure by the use of trochees, which break up the metre (*ἀνάκλασις*),² it is sometimes difficult to distinguish it (especially when consecutive lines are so few) from logaoedics. From Sappho's fondness for them, Ionics were called Aeolic. Dr Glazebrook gives as a specimen of this metre in English —

For the great gifts he has granted
To Prometheus we are grateful,
But for Zeus, that wretched upstart,
We can only call him hateful

But whether that is the true scansion of his lines is, I think, open to much doubt.

§ 30 Of the *Ionics a maiore*, used by Sappho in her Fourth Book, and taken in couplets, examples occur in **Fragment 16**, called by Hephaestion *Ionic a maiore* with trochaic dipody (aeolic tetrameter catalectic), and **22**.

¹ Horace uses it once, *Od.* iii, 11.

² By the use of a double trochee for an Ionic foot.

But Fragment 12, σὺ δὲ στέφανος ὦ Δικα πέρθεσθ
 ἐράταις φόβαισιν and 41

ἐγὼ δὲ φιλῆμ ἄβροσυναν — — — — — καὶ μοι
 as they have anacrusis cannot presumably be taken
 as choriambic. Wilamowitz considers them to be Ionics
 But they have seemingly a choriambic character

§ 31 The Ionic a minore is found in the acatalectic
 trimeter (83)

τί με Πανδίωνις ὠραῖνα χελιδων
 the whole poem of which this is the first line being as
 Hephaestion tells us in the same metre Fragment 94
 is in an irregular form of the same metre

Among other examples of irregular Ionics may be classed
 the folk-song (53) from the end of Sappho's Book VII
 But Hephaestion scans it as a tetrameter antispastically
 consisting of three iambs and a glyconic line

— — — — — | — — — — — — — — — —

But Farnell and West Smyth break up the long line into
 two and scan—

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

making the rhythm logaoedic¹ So also Fragment 73,
 claimed for Sappho by Wilamowitz may be irregular
 ionic or logaoedic The same may be said of πλήρης
 μὲν ἐφαίνατ' αὐσελάνα² (Fragment 76) which Hephaestion
 calls Praxilleian ionic trimeter brachycatalectic

Fragment 71 has been given above as logaoedic³ But
 some grammarians take it as irregular ionic which suits
 the character of the poem better However Neue
 points out that in this case there is a hiatus between the
 third and fourth lines It may be a trochaic trimeter

¹ I have now followed this scheme.

See also § 22, where 156 also is mentioned

² See § 19

Fragments 104, 154, are quite uncertain but they may be in ionics

§ 33 It is somewhat easier to analyze the dactylic metres used by Sappho To begin with we may perhaps dismiss the elegiac pentameter as a metre used by her It is true that Suidas says she wrote *ἐπιγράμματα* and Ovid in his *Epistle to Phaon* (l. 27) attributes to Sappho the writing of elegies, while the Anthol. Palatina¹ has three epigrams purporting to be by her But the latter are probably spurious and though they are happily βαία to use Meleager's phrase they are certainly not πόδα We find however examples of the Epic hexameter² though this in Sappho mostly begins with a spondee which almost has the character of a basis The metre is found chiefly in epithalamia as in Fragments 129³ 133, 134, 136, 137 probably in 127, 128, 131 132, 148, 150 possibly also in 74 and 111 It is doubtful whether 171 is by Sappho

The Aeolic pentameter occurs three or four times It corresponds to the last four feet of a hexameter line with basis. It would be well represented by our nursery line *Willy boy Willy boy where are you going?* if we added at the beginning *Tell me!* as a basis or if we substituted an anacrusis for the basis and lengthened the last syllable by the musical rest we could quote as an illustration *There was an old woman who lived in a shoe* An instance in Sappho is Fragment 84—

**Ἥρος ἄγγελος ἱμεροφωνος ἀηδων*

where ἥρος is a basis In Fragment 52 we get the same metre by reading *παις* not *πάϊς* as usually in Sappho

¹ See Fragments 163, 164, 165

² The *ἔπος* or *μέτρο* ἡρώικον which Heph. calls Aeolic and Sapphic.

³ But it is difficult to make the second line into a hexameter

§ 34 Two very similar lines in **Fragment 125**—

*Τίω σ', ὦ φίλε γάμβρε, κάλως εἰκάσδω,
 ὄρπακι βραδίνῳ σε κάλιστ' εἰκάσδω,*

are taken by Farnell and Weir Smyth as basis with three logaoedic dactyls ("cyclic" in Weir Smyth, "choreic" in Farnell, the latter probably correctly) followed by a trochee. There does not, however, seem any very obvious reason why they should not be similar to 34 in the last section. The scansion of 149¹ and 153 is uncertain.

Speaking of a heterogeneous (asynartetic) metre used by Archilochus, Hephaestion says that its first half can be divided as a three-foot anapaestic if it begin with a spondee, like Sappho's **Fragment 109**. *Αὔτα δὲ σύ, Καλλιόπα*, but whether the poem, from which this is an extract, was in anapaests we have no means of knowing. It could be dactylic with anacrusis. The whole of Sappho's second Book was composed of the dactylic pentameter of fourteen syllables, with basis, in couplets. Hephaestion says that Sappho invented the metre. However, as these end in two trochees, the dactyls are not true dactyls, but choreic dactyls in three-eighths time. The rhythm therefore is logaoedic,

$\overset{x}{\text{—}} \cong \text{—} \cup \cup \text{—} \cup \cup \text{—} \cup \cup \text{—} \cup \cup \text{—} \wedge$

Such are also **Fragments 17, 18, 29, 43, 47, 58** (probably), **59, 60, 63, 141**, and possibly **45, 143**.

There is also a dactylic Aeolic tetrameter acatalectic² of eleven syllables with anacrusis, similar to the last-mentioned, but shorter by a dactyl, e.g. **Fragments 7**

¹ Classed by grammarians as tetrameter catalectic. So also perhaps 148.

² Mar Victor illustrates by the line *raφiunt hederas cito Macnades*

(every third line) 10 30 40 60 138¹ possibly 145 (from Book II) and 150

§ 35 We have no means of judging whether Sappho used purely trochaic rhythms but it is inherently probable that she did² Servius attributes to her the trochaic pentapody but it is not found in our extant fragments unless with anacrusis in Fragment 121 or possibly 158, if that line is by her The scansion of Fragments 49 107, is too uncertain to give us any help But 54 is an interesting instance of the difference between ancient and modern metricians in the matter of scansion The three lines—

Ἔστι μοι καλά πάϊς χρυσοῖσιν ἀνθέμοισιν
ἐμφέρον ἔχουσα μόρφαν ἡλῆϊς ἀγα-άτα
ὥτι τὰς ἔγω οὐδὲ Λυδίαί παισαν οὐδ' ἔρασαν

are scanned by Hephaestion who apparently read Ἀλεεῦις —

— — — — — | — — — — — — — — — —
—
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

which is so complicated as to be quite improbable The moderns using synizesis in χρυσοῖσιν and Λυδιαρ give the rhythms as—

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

namely eight trochees one irrational one syncopated one made up with the musical rest The metre is like our familiar *If a body meet a body* or *Simple Simon met a pie-man going to the fair*

¹ Weir Smyth gives the dactyls as cyclic In that case the line should scan

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

² Cf 118 mentioned § 36 Cf. *There I met an old man* *He could not say his prayers*

§ 36 Fragment 118 has a marked beat and a lively lilt, and runs $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} > \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$ If we divide the line into two, and Hephaestion says it consists of two Ithyphallics, we must scan it as $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$ twice repeated Stanzas in this metre ¹ might have been connected with a metre quoted by Servius ² as Sapphic, viz *splendet aurum, gemma fulget, forma sed placet*, technically called trochaic trimeter hypercatalectic

§ 37 Hephaestion took 121 to be written in iambic metre, and Bergk thought that the metre of 53 ³ was iambic of an asynartetic or heterogeneous character But we know nothing definite about Sappho's use of this metre Julian ⁴ speaks of iambs "such as the exquisite Sappho likes to fit to her νόμοι" These were probably not the ordinary senarii of tragedy In a well-known line Horace ⁵ says *Temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho* He seems to mean that Sappho used the manly iambic of Archilochus, mingling it with other measures He adds that in introducing the iambic metre into Latium he followed the example of the Greek lyricists

Many of our Fragments are embedded in prose, or too mutilated to enable us even to guess at their metre Such are 25, 55, 59a, 62, 67, 68, 70, 78, 81, 101, 105, 108, 114, 115, 116, 117, 139 (?), 155, 159, 161, 162

§ 38 Something has already been said in the Introduction on the subject of possible editions of Sappho

¹ Ithyphallic dimeter, or continuous trochaic tetrapody

² *Centum* 1819

³ See § 31

⁴ *Epist* 30 Suidas says that Sappho wrote iambic verses, but the passage is a later addition to his article

⁵ *Epist* 1, 19, 28

in antiquity ¹ There were two of these the earlier one brought out (it is supposed) by Aristophanes of Byzantium ² and arranged according to subject matter He was at the head of a school of grammarians who published new critical editions of Homer Alcaeus Sappho Anacreon and others We know practically nothing about this edition But as the *Epithalamia* were according to Servius ³ in a separate book the edition to which he refers must have been arranged by subjects unless the wedding songs were made an exception This is possible owing to their being choral in character whereas the other poems were monodic or for single voices Some think that the Hymns to the Gods were also a separate book which may have been entitled *Nόμοι*

§ 39 The other edition according to metres was brought out somewhat later than the former by Aristarchus of Samothrace and was the one generally used by the subsequent grammarians and metricians Edmonds suggests that the second editor took the poems from the first edition and simply arranged them in the order in which he found them but by metres This would explain why if the *epithalamia* were in the last book in two or three instances among the papyrus fragments there is an *epithalamium* found at the end of a book Thus the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1231 shows us that the last poem in Book I of the metrical edition (from which it appears to be taken) was an *epithalamium* ⁴ and that the last poem in a collection called *Σαφούς μέλη*

¹ For a full discussion of these see Edmonds *Class Quart* Jan. 1922, pp. 10 ff.

² Hephaestion *περὶ σμυλῶν* 139.

³ Ad Verg. *Georg.* iii. 31 Wilamowitz thinks these may have formed the eighth Book but they are generally assigned to the ninth and last.

⁴ Fragment 142.

was a narrative epithalamium,¹ a quotation from which is ascribed by Athenaeus to Book II. Moreover, **Fragment 53**, which Edmonds (from whom I take the above suggestion) thinks may conceivably be part of an epithalamium, stood at the end of the VIIth Book.² Another sign of the existence of two separate editions is afforded by the fact that some fragments quoted from specified books have metres not in accordance with the evidence of grammarians on this subject.³

§ 40 Book I This contained, as we learn from many sources, all the poems in Sapphic metre.⁴ They were no doubt chosen to stand first because of their being the most numerous and the most characteristic of Sappho, the metre perhaps being her invention.

Book II This was composed entirely of poems in the fourteen-syllabled acatalectic Aeolic (or Sapphic⁵) pentameter, viz $\cong \cong \quad - \cup \cup \quad - \cup \cup \quad - \cup \cup \quad - \cup \cong$. The lines were in couplet stanzas, and the numbers were even, no extra line being allowed, and all the lines were alike. This arrangement of stanzas (*συστήματα*) is called by Hephaestion "common" (*κοινά*).⁶

Book III This consisted entirely of the sixteen-syllabled acatalectic Sapphic choriambic tetrameter with basis, e g

$\quad - - \quad - \cup \cup - \quad - \cup \cup - \quad - \cup \cup - \quad \cong$

and was, like Book II, in couplet stanzas of even numbers

¹ If, indeed, **Fragment 141** is an epithalamium and by Sappho (which Wilamowitz doubts)

² Taking Bergk's emendation *ἐπὶ τέλους τοῦ* in the text of Heph

³ See Bergk, *Greek Lyric Poets*, Introd. to Sappho

⁴ In the Logaoedic metre, composed of discordant feet (*genus asynartelum*)

⁵ Some attributed its invention to Sappho

⁶ But **Fragments 143, 145, 166**, are also quoted as from Book II, and they do not conform to the above metre. See § 39 note

Book IV The metre throughout this book is thought to have been as with Books II and III in couplets.

— — — — —

It is called by Hephæstion *Ionic a maiore tetrameter acatalectic*. He styles it Acolic because so often used by Sappho. Whether the whole Book consisted of similar strophes is not known. Perhaps poems in similar metres may have been included e.g. **Fragments 90 120**. The editors of the Ox Papyri Drs Grenfell and Hunt assign the new Fragments in Ox Pap 1787 with some probability to this Book.

Book V Apparently contained Glyconics ¹

— — — — —

or Asclepiads which are amplified glyconics and probably other metres though Fortunatianus² says that the book was confined to Asclepiads But the same grammarian tells us in another place³ that the Phalaecian or eleven syllabled verse — — — — — was frequently used by Sappho in her Fifth Book both consecutively and scattered⁴ Pollux tells us that **Fragment 144** was from Sappho's Book V⁵ It is probable that this book contained poems in various metres

Book VI Nothing seems to be known for certain about this book. Edmonds puts the poems in Ionics here.

Book VII We have one quotation taken from the end of this book namely **Fragment 53** Hephaestion on this speaking of the antispastic metres says that a

¹ e.g. Fragment 97 consisting of the hymenaeal dactylic dimeter

* H. 353

• L 315

4 Cf Fragment 76 which has anacrusis not basis and see above §§ 23 26 31 also Wilamowitz quoted above § 32.

¹ Pollux vii. 73 but see above § 26

frequent type of tetrameter has only its second dipody antispastic Bergk considers the metre as asynartetic Iambic

Book VIII We learn from Photius¹ that Sopater the Sophist in the second book of his extracts from many excellent histories and writings made selections from Sappho's eighth Book as well as from the *Epitomes* of Pamphila, and from *The Virtuous Acts of Women*, by Artemon, the Magnesian, and the *Apothegms* of Diogenes the Cynic This seems a somewhat strange association in which to find Sappho's poetry But from the nature of the case it would appear that the components of the eighth Book could not have been arranged by metre We must suppose, therefore, that this was the eighth book in the edition by Aristophanes

Book IX The epithalamia² were possibly grouped together in this book, if not in the eighth, of the same edition as the last

§ 41 The poems of Sappho were monostrophic, no antistrophé or epode being used Some of her poems were monoschematic, all the lines being alike, in others she introduced different metres Most of her songs were monodies, i e sung by single voices, others, like some at least of the epithalamia, were choral Edmonds has raised the question whether some of her poems were not for reading or recitation only, and he instances such pieces as **Fragments 3, 7, 9, 27**, but perhaps we shall be safer in regarding all her poems as intended to be sung They are called μέλη λυρικά,³ or ἐρωτικά (μέλη)⁴ Her various designations are μουσοποιός (Herodotus), αἰδοπόλος

¹ *Bibl* 161

² See Serv ad Verg, *Georg* 1, 31 They are also referred to by Dionysius of Halicarnassus

³ Suidas

⁴ Pausan 1, 25, 1

(Tullius Laurea) *λυρικὴ* (Laurea Suidas Schol to Plato) *μελοποιός* (Lucian)

She wrote in the Lesbian Aeolic dialect which only recognized the smooth breathing and always threw back the accent except on adverbs and prepositions. But the universality of the rule is disputed by Wilamowitz and others. In this edition the rule has been made invariable to avoid the difficulties of decision in individual instances. The digamma is recognized in some words and disregarded in others. It is sometimes found written on the papyrus MSS as for instance in line 6 of the facsimile reproduced on p. 90 above.



From a vellum fragment in the Berlin Museum brought to notice by Professor Ibscher and printed by Mr Lobel on p 80 of his edition by the permission of Professor Schubart in anticipation of its appearance in his own edition

To follow fragment 6, p 85 above

γαρυ[]αλον . . ντο μέσσον
 υμρ . . . ον οὐ α μι θέαισι μόρ
 φαν ἐπη . . ν ἔξις
 θόαις'υ ο ετ . . νιδηον

25 . . . τα . . . ρατι

μ μερος

καὶ δ μ . . . ος Ἀφροδίτα

καδ δ . . . νέκταρ ἔχευ' ἀπὺ

χρυσίας λοῖτα

30 ε ι πείθω

σενη

σ

αγωδαι

το Γεραίστιον

35 υν φίλα

υστον οὐδενο

ερον ἰξο

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VOCABULARY, GLOSSARY, AND INDEX OF NAMES

A query signifies that the word is doubtfully Sappho's a dot under a letter that it is uncertain and a line under a letter that it is conjecturally supplied Words that are corrupt are obelized Words only found in Sappho have an asterisk

A

ἀ (= ἤ), 41 13, 51 5, 61 9, 61 13,
51 54 l. 2, 66 l. 2 71 76 ἀ (ro) 2
121 as demonstrative (= she)
8 l. 6 as relative see also
(= ὅ) 7 l. 3 72 163 l. 5,
72 165 l. 3 αἰ (= αἰ) 76 l. 2
ἀβδάκη (so Hecychius and Etym. M
for ἀβδάκη) lit. speechless =
quiet, gentle or possibly child
like 44 l. 2
ἀβλάβητ 9 l. 1
ἀβροτ 90 l. 1 ἀβρα (from ποτ ?)
Ox. Pap 1231 18 l. 4 ἀβρατ
141 l. 7 ἀβραι, 120 ἀβροισ
144 ? Ox. Pap 178 37 l. 3
ἀβροτέρα, ? 159 ἀβρωτ 89 b l. 2
ἀβροσύαν 41 l. 24
ἀβρότταν (?) Ox. Pap 178 9 l. 3
or ἀμφιβρότταν
ἀγαθος 63 l. 2 see also ἀριστο
ἀγαπάτα, 54 l. 2 86 l. 8 ἀγαπάταν
41 l. 21
ἀγατ 21 l. 12 77
ἀγάτῃ, 86 l. 10 ἀγάτῃ 6 l. 16
ἀγαθῇ 31 l. 7
ἀγγελος, 84 141 l. 3
ἀγλαία, 9 l. 14
ἀγραι, 119 ἀγραι (πεντ fl) 107
l. 13 ἀγραι 141 l. 22 26 ἀγραι
(Alcaeus, of Sappho) 27
[ἀγνυμι] Flay 41 9

ἀγραι, 4 l. 14
ἀγροῦται 15 l. 2 ἀγροῦται 15
l. 1
ἀγ[ρον] (?) ἀμρον 21 l. 14
ἀγχι (Ox. Pap. 1232, 11 9) 143 l. 9
ἀ[γχι] ἀγχι 2 ἀγχι (= ἀγχι)
143 l. 9 ἀγχοι (= ἀγχοι)
141 l. 5 ἀγχι (= ἀγχι) 3 l. 19,
1492 ἀγχι (= ἀγχι) 3 l. 9
ἀγχι 141 l. 4 ἀγχι (= ἀγχι) see
Petrk, 159 (Schol. Hom., Il.
xxiii, 241) ἀχθῇ (Ox. Pap.
178 2 l. 5 ? = ἀχθῇ) 41 l.
? ἀθε (= ἡθε) 164 l. 1
ἀδελφῇ Ox. Pap 1231 21 l. 2
ἀδικῇ (= ἀδικῇ) 3 l. 20
ἀδοκῇ (= ἀδοκῇ) Ox. Pap
1231 l. 2
ἀδολο 39 l. 11
ἀδωτ 7 l. 2
ἀδομαι (= ἡδομαι) 21 l. 12
ἀδομαι, Ox. Pap 1231 30 l. 4
ἀδο (= ἡδο) 4 l. 3 ἀδοτ 86 l. 3
see also under ἀδο
ἀδύλογοι, Ox. Pap 1787 11 l. 2
ἀδυμελετέρα (see ἐμμελετέρα) 1592
ἀδ μέλῃ 141 l. 26
ἀδύφαντον 160
[ἀείδω] ἀείδει, 38 l. 7 ἀείδοι
(= ἀείδουσαι) 142 l. 7 ἀείσω,
32 l. 2 ἀείσον 31 l. 9; ἀείδον
141 l. 26

αἵκες, 40 l 8, οὐδὲν αἵκες, Hom, Od 20, 366
 ἀέκοισα (= ἀέκουσα), 7 l 6
 ἀελίω (= ἡλίω), 6 l 8, 41 l 25, ἀλίω, 23 l 1
 ἀέρρατε (= αἰράτε), 136 l 2
 ἀήδων, 84, ἀηδοί (= ἀήδονες?), 38 l 7
 ἀήταις (? acc), 85 l 9
 ἀθάνατε, 3 l 1, ἀθανάτω, 3 l 14, ? ἀθάνατοι, 169, ἀθάνατ', Ox Pap 1787, 8 l 1
 ἀθύρματα, 87 l 8, 141 l 9 (Edm ἀθρήματα, gifts among the Lesbians sent to a bride by her relations)
 αἶ (= εἶ), 3 l 5, 3 l 21, 3 l 22, 3 l 23, 7 l 10, 9 l 17, 27 l 1, 56 l 1, ? 163, ? Ox Pap 1787, 8 l 6, αἶπερ, 64 l 2, αἶθ', 88 l 1
 αἶγος, 95, αἶγα, 129 l 2
 αἶθερος, 3 l 11, αἶθερα, 141 l 26
 αἰθυσσομένων, 72 l 3
 αἰμιόνοις (= ἡμιόνους, see Hoffmann, *Griech Dial* 11, 420), 141 l 14
 αἰν[ν]άω (= αἰνάου), 141 l 6
 αἰοῖσα (= αἰουσα), 3 l 6
 αἰόνων (= ἡιόνων), 74
 αἰπάρθενος (= αἰεπάρθενος), 132
 αἶσχυρ, Ox Pap 1787, 17 l 2
 [αἰρέω], ? αἶρει, 1787, 8, ἔλεν, 140 l 2
 αἵτιον, Ox Pap 1787, 5 l 6
 αἰψα, 3 l 13, Ox Pap 1787, 44 l 5, αἰψ (Bergk), αἰψα, 75 l 2
 ἄκακος, one who has had no experience of evil Bekk, *Anecd* 1, 370, 14, Bergk, 149
 ἄκαλα, 143 l 5, Hesychius, ἄκαλον = ἡσυχον But there is a form, quoted by grammarians, ἡκαλος from ἡκα
 ? ἀκαμάταν, 163 l 2
 ἀκοῖτιν, 41 l 21
 ἀκουαί (= ears for ἀκοαί), 4 l 12

ἀκούην (? = ἀκούειν), Ox Pap 1787, 40 l 3
 ἄκρον, ? 66 l 2, 133 l 2, ἄκρω, 133 l 1, ἀκροτάτω, 133 l 2
 ? ἄλγεα (or ἀνάλγεα), Ox Pap 1231, 12 l 7
 *ἀλγεσίδωρον, of Eros, 102
 ἀλέματα (= ἡλέματα), idle, vain, 37 l 5
 ? ἄλικες (= ἡλικες), 164 l 4, ἀλίκεσσι, Ox Pap 1787, 32 l 3
 ἀλίτρα, wicked, 39 l 4, Ox Pap 1787, 32 l 3
 ἀλκύνω, 162
 ἀλλά, ? 1, 3 l 5, 3 l 22, 4 l 9, ? 4 l 17, 7 l 10, 8 l 11, 24 l 3, 27 l 4, 28 l 1, 41 l 16 (ἀλλα), 44 l 1, 44 l 2, 133 l 3, 142 l 9, 143 l 8, ? 168, Ox Pap 1231, 12 l 2, 50 l 6, ἀλλά, Ox Pap 1787, 27 l 4
 ἄλλα ? = ἡλεή, distraught (MS ἄλλαν), 30, ? 4 l 16
 ? ἀλλάλων = ἀλλήλων, 45 l 4
 ἄλλαν (MS) ? 29 l 1
 ἄλλον, 36 l 1, ἄλλας, *gen sing*, 141 l 4, ἄλλοι, Ox Pap 1787, 11 l 5
 ἀλλοδάποισι, 137
 ἀλλόμαν = ἡλλόμην (Herodian) Edm = ἡλεόμην from ἀλεύομαι It would, naturally, if aspirated, come from ἄλλομαι
 ἄλλως, 9 l 15
 ἄλμυρον, 141 l 7, ἀλμύραν, 6 l 11
 ἄλος (ἄλς), 6 l 21
 ἄλσος, 7 l 28, Berl *Klassikertexte*, 9722, 3 l 14
 ἄμα, 141 l 15
 ἀμαμάξυδες, vines trained on two poles quoted Etym M 77, 1, Cheroboscus, 1, 357, τὸ γὰρ παρὰ Σαπφοῖ ἀμαμαξύδος παράλογόν ἐστιν Bergk, 150

- αμαρα, an irrigation trench said
 (Orion, iii, 2) to have occurred in
 ἑπομνήματι Σαυφούς Bergk, 131
 ἀμάρυμα, 8 l. 18
 ἀμάχαρον (= ἀμῆχαρον) 46 l. 2
 ἀμαρῶν 24 l. 2
 ἀμβροσίας (here = nectar) 140 l. 1
 ἀμβροτε (= ἡμαρτε cf. Amreeta
 Cup the Cup of immortality in
 Southey's *Curse of Kehama* so
 number etc. in English) 9 l. 5,
 10 l. 5 (ἀμβροτε)
 ἀμειβόμεν (= ἡμειβόμεν) 7 l. 7
 ἀμέρα = ἡμέρα, 143 l. 9
 ἀμέργουσαν (= ἀμέργουσαν) 77
 ? ἀμετέρων 164 l. 6
 ἀμαξ (= ἡμετέρας see Hoffm.
Griech Dial., p. 483) ἀμαξ,
 Ox. Pap. 1787 28 l. 2
 ἀμμετ (= ἡμμετ) 32 l. 3 ἀμμετῶν,
 59 ἀμμε (= ἡμμε) 6 l. 19
 155 l. 1 ἀμμε (= ἡμμε) 9 l. 7
 ἀμμεν 28 l. 1 31 l. 9, 39, ? 45
 l. 3, 61 l. 2 ? 168; [ἀμ]μετ 7
 l. 27
 ἀμοθεν 85 l. 17
 ἀμοιβαν 14
 ἀμώτασον or ἀμώτασον (ἀμώτασον
 νημ) 26 l. 2
 ἀμώλ, 7 l. 17 72 l. 1 75 l. 1 82 l. 2,
 ? ἀμώλ
 ἀμώλιδαι, 31 l. 5
 ἀμώλιδαι, 5 l. 4
 ἀμώλιδων 66 l. 2
 ἀμώλιδαι, 141 l. 10
 ἀμώλιδος (MS. ἀμώλιδος) 60
 ἀμώλιδος or ἀμώλιδος (Edm.) possibly
 ἀμώλιδος
 ἀμώλιδος or ἀμώλιδος, 163 l. 3
 ἀμώλιδος Ox. Pap. 1231 25 l. 3
 ἀμώλιδος 47 l. 2 ἀμώλιδος, 42 l. 2
 ἀμώλιδος, 66 l. 1
 ἀμώλιδος, 4 l. 2 ἀμώλιδος 136 l. 4
 ἀμώλιδος, 81 l. 8 ἀμώλιδος, Ox. Pap. 1231
 15 l. 6 ἀμώλιδος, 134 l. 1 136 l. 2
 141 l. 17 141 l. 30
- ἀμώλιδος (= ἀμώλιδος) 12 l. 2 some
 read ἀμώλιδος, which is an epic
 form but found in *Fragm.* 141
 l. 16 and 164 l. 1
 ἀμώλιδος or ἀμώλιδος (= ἀμώλιδος) 140b
 l. 1
 ἀμώλιδος 34 l. 1 ἀμώλιδος Ox.
 Pap. 1787 6 l. 1
 ἀμώλιδος 6 l. 15
 ἀμώλιδος? read by Edm. (see his
 p. 240) from the MS 55 l. 9
 ἀμώλιδος 82 l. 3, 134 l. 2, Ox. Pap.
 1787 10 l. 5 ἀμώλιδος, 81 ἀμώλιδος,
 77 ἀμώλιδος 7 l. 18 ἀμώλιδος
 Ox. Pap. 1231 40 l. 1
 ἀμώλιδος, an umbelliferous plant,
 6 l. 14
 ἀμώλιδος 8 l. 7 36 l. 2 ἀμώλιδος
 8 l. 22 ἀμώλιδος Ox. Pap.
 1787 14 l. 7 ἀμώλιδος Ox.
 Pap. 1231 53 l. 2 ἀμώλιδος
 Ox. Pap. 1231 17 l. 7
 ἀμώλιδος (= ἡμώλιδος) 141 l. 19
 ἀμώλιδος Ox. Pap. 1787 40 l. 2
 ἀμώλιδος or ἀμώλιδος, 141 l. 11
 ἀμώλιδος, prep with γεν., 26 l. 1
 ἀμώλιδος, 54 l. 3
 ἀμώλιδος 40 l. 11
 ἀμώλιδος (= ἀμώλιδος) Berl.
 Klass. Texte, 5, P. 5006 5
 ἀμώλιδος 40 l. 5
 ἀμώλιδος 107 l. 9
 ? ἀμώλιδος 114
 ἀμώλιδος (emended to ἀμώλιδος
 Bergk, ταμώλιδος) 20
 ἀμώλιδος, 137 ἀμώλιδος 41 l. 11
 ? ἀμώλιδος 80 l. 1
 ἀμώλιδος, 141 l. 22
 ἀμώλιδος, 7 l. 17 ἀμώλιδος 7 l. 13
 77 ἀμώλιδος, γεν. fem. 16 l. 5,
 128 ἀμώλιδος, 6 l. 14 ἀμώλιδος
 82 l. 2 ἀμώλιδος, 12 l. 5
 ? ἀμώλιδος, 159d
 ἀμώλιδος (= ἀμώλιδος) 22 l. 2
 ? ἀμώλιδος (ἀμώλιδος) 45 l. 4
 ἀμώλιδος (ἀμώλιδος) 7 l. 27

ἀπήχθετο (ἀπεχθάνομαι), used
impers, 19 l 1
ἀποίχῃ (MS οἴχῃ), 135 l 1
ἀπορμάθεντες (= ἀφορμήθεις), 107
l 7
ἀπύ, 3 l 11, 6 l 28, p 226, 39 l 1, 97 l 4,
129 l 2 (MS ἀποιον), 141 l 6, ? 167
ἀπύβην (read in MS by Edm),
55 l 17
ἀπυγυε (?), O^x Pap 1787, 13 l 8
ἀπύθεσθαι, 12 l 2
[ἀπυθαίσκω] ? ἀτυθαίσκη (infm),
64 (Aristotle, *Rhet* II, 33, but
emended in present text), ἀ-
έθναισκον 64 (*ibid*), ἀτυθαίσις,
25 l 2
ἀπυκρύπτοις, 75 l 2
ἀτυλιππάνω (= ἀπολείπω), 7 l 6
? ἀπυστα, 6 l 20
ἀτυστρέφονται, 12 l 4
ἀπυ φέρεις (by tmesis φέρεις
ἀπύ), 6 l 28, 129 l 2
? ἀτυφθιμένας, 164 l 3
ἄρα, 140 b l 1, 141 l 25, 141 l 27.
? Berl Klass-Texte, 9722, 3 l 7
ἄραμαι, 5 l 9, ἄρασθαι, 8 l 22
ἄραν, ? 107 l 18
[ἀράομαι] ἄραο = ἡρώ from ἀράεσο
(or = ἀράσο from ἀράμαι), 124
l 1, 124 l 2, ἀράσαντο or
ἄρράσαντο, 140 b l 2
ἄραταν, 107 l 3
ἄργυρα, 141 l 10
ἄργυριαν or ἄργυρία (MS ἀργυρέαν),
75 (Julian, *Ep* 19)
ἀρέτας, *gen sing*, 66 l 1
ἀριγνώτα (Wilam 'Αριγνώτα), 6 l 5
ἄριστον, or read κάλιστον, 8 l 8
ἄρμα, 3 l 1, ἄρματα, 8 l 19,
ἄρματα, 41 l 17
ἄρμονίας, O^x Pap 1787, 13 l 9
ἀρτίως in sense of ἄρτι (so first by
Sappho), 51
ἄρνῦσο (Neue ἄρνυσο), imper from
ἄρνυμαι or (as Farnell), optat 28 l 1
ἀρούραις, *acc plur*, 6 l 12

? ἄρχομαι, 1
ἄς (= ἔως from ἄφος, Ionic ἦος),
153, 6 l 4 (Edm ἄς)
ἄσα, 6 l 18, ἄσαισι, 3 l 3
ἄσαιο (ἄσάομαι), 11 l 10
ἄσσαροτίρας (= ἄσηροτίρας), 22a
ἄσίνης, act 66, l 1
ἄστερες, 75 l 1, ἄστέρωι, 130.
ἄστρα, 6 l 10
ἄστοις, 37 l 13
ἄστεφαιώτοις, 12 l 1
ἄσφι (= σφί), 148, for σφι, ? 171
ἄτέρα (= ἑτέρα), 123, O^x Pap 1787,
15 l 3, ἄτεραις, 11 l 7
ἄτιμα, 85 l 15
? ἀτιμάσεις, 97 l 3
ἀτύξῃ (ἀτύξω), strike with terror,
Berl Klass-Texte, 9722, 3 l 10
(Edm 84 l 10)
αὔ, 141 l 9, 141 l 16
αὔα, dawn, Lesbian for αἰώς,
Apoll. *Idv* 183, 22, Bergk, 152,
αὔως (= ἡώς), 51, 129 l 1, Bergk,
153 (EtyM M 174, 42), αὔωι,
41 l 18
αὔδως (= αὐδοῦς) from αὔδω
(= αὐδῇ), 3 l 6
αὔθι, O^x Pap 1787, 36 l 2
αὔλος, 141 l 26
αὔτα (see also οὔτος), *nom fem*,
3 l 27, 5 l 5, 5 l 7, 109, αὔταν,
8 l 11, αὔταν (? for τεαὔταν, etc,
or αὔται), O^x Pap 1787, 40 l 4.
αὔται (MS αὔτα), 77
? αὔται, 41 l 6
αὔτε (Hoffmann αὔτε) read for
δαὔτε, 46 l 1
αὔτικα, 4 l 10, 63 l 2, 141 l 13
ἀφάνης, 24 l 3
? ἀφθαρτος, 66
ἀφθιτον, 141 l 4
? ἀφῶνος, 163 l 1
ἄχαρις, not ripe for marriage as
Plutarch, *Amat* 5, τὴν οὕτω
γάμον ἔχουσιν ὦραν or possibly
without grace, 18 l 3

ἀχέων 9 L 11

ἄχων 141 L 29

ἀψ, see αἴψα

? αψατ., Ox. Pap 1231 11 L 3

ἄσρος sleep (a Methymnaean word, Hesych.) 149

B

[βαῖνοι] βᾶθι, Ox. Pap 1231 5 L 3

βᾶλλαι, Ox. Pap 1787 11 L 8

βῖσα, *ibid.*, 2 L 4

βᾶμα (= βῆμα) 8 L 17

? βᾶθν Ox. Pap 1231 5 L 3

βάρβιτος (also σάρβιτος) a foreign word for a musical instrument, probably here the seven-stringed tortoiseshell lyre, Bergk, 154

βάρμιος (or βάρωμιος Athen. iv 182 F) a musical instrument, Athen. xiv 636 C Bergk, 154

βάρν Berl. Klass. Texte, 9722, 31 L 8

βασίλειος? 110 L 6

β σίλητος 107 L 4

βασιλῆος, 7 L 21

βᾶθος = κυβερηκός described by Pollux (7 L 49) as διαφανές τις χιτωνισκός Bergk, 155

βῖα, 149a

βῖον 6 L 4

[βλῆμι]? βλῆτι 172

βόα (βοάω) 6 L 19 βόων Berl. Klass. Texte, 9722, 3 L 7

βόλλομαι (= βούλομαι) 5 L 11

βόλλομαι 8 L 17 βόλλεις 16 see Ox. Pap 1787 34 L 4

βόρηται (= βαρεῖαι) If there were a word from βορά like vorare in Latin, it would come in well here βραδύναν acc sing., 53 L 2 βραδύνω 125 L 2

βράκτα (= βάκτα) 15 L 3 generally taken to mean "rags" but Theocr. 28 L 11 in his Aeolic idyll uses it in the sense of a rich robe of transparent stuff cf. Hesych. βράκος. ἱμάτιον πολύταλος

βρενθάει, 7 L 20

βρόδα (βόδα) 6 L 14 βρόδων 24 L 2 159 f, βρόδων 7 L 14

βρόδανθι (Edm.) 5 L 2 Diehl reads πῶδανθι, but the last α of Γόγγυλα requires to be long

βροδοδάκτυλος 6 L 9 βροδο

Ox. Pap 1787 16 L 1

βροδοπάχεις (βροδοπήχαις) 119, 160

βροδόπαχων (of dawn) 41 L 18

βροδόσφυροι, 127

βροχίαις (= βραχίαις) MS also

βρόχαις με (so Hoffmann)

Fick reads βρόχαις = from the gullet Edm. βρόχαι a proper name, which seems wanted and corresponds to *Lesbia* in Catullus translation. Hesych. βροχίαις (text uncertain) σαφῶς, συντομῶς *Alolis* 4 L 7

βᾶμων 76 L 2, 82, 95

Γ

γᾶς 3 L 10, 41 L 19, 85 L 6 γᾶν 8 L 2 74 L 4

? γαῖα, 73

? γάλακτος 159c

γάμβρος (= bridegroom, not son in law) 121 136 L 3 γάμβροι, 122 L 2, 123 L 1 124 L 1 125 L 1

γάμβρος, 140b L 3

[γαμίω] ἔγαμ Ox. Pap 1787 32 L 1

γάμος, 124 L 1 ? γάμοιο, 164 L 1 see under δαίτω for epic form

γάτος 81 85 L 2

γάρ occurs 30 times

γαρόνι, 6 L 21

γε 6 L 20 21 L 9, Berl. Klass. Texte, 9722 3 L 10 (Edm. 84) 89b

[γῆλαιμι] γελαίαις (= γέλας ε) MS γελαίς or γελῆς 4 L 5 ? γέλαν = ἐγέλασαν 169

? γελάει 163 L 6

γεραιτέρα, 28 L 2

γῆρας, 31 l 4, 41 l 12, 156a (a probable insertion)
 [γίγνομαι] γένεσθαι, 3 l 7, 8 l 22, 9 l 3, 9 l 6, 41 l 17, 50, γίνεο (or γένοιο), 2 l 2, γένοιτο, 9 l 7, 87 l 9, ἔγεντο (ἐγένετο), 39 l 2, 79 l 1, ἐγένοντο, 41 l 13, ? γινη Ox Pap 1787, 86, *ibid*, 3 l 1
 γλακτίαν (Wilam), not found elsewhere, 5 l 3 Lobel πᾶκτιν
 γλύκερον, 38 l 5
 γλυκύμαλον (γλυκύμηλον, a sweet-apple), 133 l 1
 γλυκύπικρον, bitter-sweet, 46 l 2 Anth Pal v, 134
 γλύκυσ, 87 l 3, γλύκεια or γλύκη, 53 l 1
 γλώσσα, 27 l 2, Ox Pap 1231, 1, 5 l 4, γλώσσαν, 65 l 2
 γόνα (= γόνατα), 41 l 14, ? γόνων, 97 l 1
 ? γρίπει, 165 l 1
 γρύτη, toilette-box Bekker, *Anecd* 1, 33, 2, (Phrynichus) Σαπφῶ δὲ γρύτην καλεῖ τὴν μύρων καὶ γυναικείων θήκη, Bergk, 156
 γυναικες, 141 l 29, γυναικών, 141 l 15, ? 163 l 5, γυναῖκεςσιν, 67, γύναικι, Ox Pap 1787, 41 l 2

Δ

δαίμων, ? 168 (Bergk, *Adesp* 58), Ox Pap 1787, 5 l 3
 ? δάκρυσι, 174 l 1
 δακτυλίω (δακτυλίου), 29
 ? δάμα Ox Pap 1787, 10 l 4
 δάμεισα (δαμάζω), 53 l 2
 δάμνα (δαμνάω or δάμνημι), *imperfect*, 3 l 3, ἔδαμνα, 9 l 12
 δαμόσιον (δημόσιον), 70
 δαύοις (δαύω, to sleep), only here in Sappho (cf Etym M 250, 10), 128

δαῦτε (δὲ αὐτε, but this does not suit the first passage cited), again cf δηῦτε, 9 l 15, 46 l 1
 δάφνας or Δάφνας, 86 l 2
 δέ used 138 times (3 or 4 doubtful)
 δεῖνα, 7 l 5, δεῖν, 87 l 3
 δέκα, 138 l 3, ? δέκα, 85 l 17
 δέκεσθαι (δέχομαι), 3 l 22, δέκεσθαι, 85 l 17, ? δέξατο, 164 l 2
 δέρῃ, 7 l 17
 ? δέσποινα, 163 l. 5
 δέσποτα, 21 l 10
 δεῦρο, with plur, 118, δεῦτε, 119, 120, (MS emended to δηῦτε), 49†, 118
 δεύτερον, 10 l 11
 δή, 2 l 1, 5 l 7, 17 l 13, 21 l 15, 107 l 1, 112 l 1, 124 l 1, 136 l 1, ? 164
 δῆρα, 21 l 5
 δηῦτε (= δὴ αὐτε), 3 l 15, 3 l 16, 3 l 18, 5 l 3, MS δεῦτε, 49†, Ox Pap 1787, 36 l 4
 δῖα, 2 l 1
 διά, with gen, 3 l 12, 6 l 21, 72 l 2, with acc, 53 l 2
 διακῆται, (= διακεῖται), 11 l 12
 διάμειπτον, changeable, 33 l 2
 διάφθειρον, Aristides probably for ζάφθερρον (Aeol), 81
 [δίδωμι] δότε, 9 l 2, δοῖσαι (= δοῦσαι), 56 l 2, δώσει, 3 l 22, δώσομεν, 150, δώσῃν (δώσειν), 11 l 4, δίδοις Ox Pap 1787, 26 l 5
 διελεξάμαν, Edm for ζὰ ἐλεξάμαν, to avoid hiatus, 94
 δικαίως (MS δικαίω = δικαίου), 27 l 4
 δίννεντες or δίννηντες (from δίν-Φημι), 3 l 11
 διπλασίαν, 50
 διώκων, 31 l 6, διώξει, 3 l 21
 δόαζε, 11 l 13
 δοκίμωμι (MS δοκίμοιμι), 23 l 1, 58

δόκεια (= δοκοῦσα) 70
 δολωπλοκε 31 2 δολωπλόκας *gen sing* (cf. Theognis) 1366, 104
 δόλοφον (Hesych. δολφός δελφός = a womb) 31 1 2 Lobei δλοφον
 δόμοις (Fick δόμεν to avoid δόμοις for δόμοισι) 24 L 3 δόμον 3 L 7
 δόκει (possibly δόκει) 46 L 1
 δόσησ OX. Pap 1231 55 L 1
 δροσόντα or δροσόντας, 21 L 14
 δρορό σα, 38 L 8
 δρόσιν 47 L 2
 δύναιμαι, 53 L 1 δύναντα, 107 L 8
 133 L 3 ? δύναιμαι (*conj*) (Blasius δύναιμαι) see Hoffm., *Griech Dial II*, 291 569 Berl. Klass. Texte, P 5006 L 3
 δύναιμι, 87 L 4
 δύναντον 41 L 17
 [δύναι ? δόμι] δύναντος 6 L 9 δίδουκε 71 L 3
 δόα, 43 δόσι (πράσι, for MS δυνάσας, Bergk) 58
 δώρα, 31 22 41 L 10, 97 L 5

E

? είνου or είνου (Edm. είνου) 159 g
 είνου, 38 L 2
 είνου (? sometimes είνου) 5 L 6, 8 L 3, 18 L 1 28 L 2, 37 L 11 38 L 2, 41 L 24, 45 L 1 54 L 3, 71 L 4, 95 L 1 145 L 1 OX. Pap 1231 39 L 1 51 L 1 είνου, 7 L 14 OX. Pap 1787 44 L 1 είνου (= είνου) 7 L 8 19 L 1 35, 36 see also μέ and νῶν and ὕμναι
 [είνου] είνου or είνου 142 L 6 είνου 39 L 2
 είνου OX. Pap 1231 18 L 3, ? = είνου
 είνου (είνου) or συγχρο-
 τοῦσι only here Berl. Klass. Texte, 5, P 5006 Edm. 34

είνου OX. Pap 1231 25 L 1
 είνου, 6 L 13 είνου OX. Pap 1787 11 L 9
 είνου, OX. Pap 1787 12 L 4
 είνου, 3 L 24 είνου, 85
 18 είνου 21 L 7
 είνου 75 L 2 126 L 1
 είνου 85 L 14
 είνου (= είνου) 125 L 1 125 L 2
 είνου, see είνου
 ? είνου, ? 167 1017 (Schol. Hom II 14 241) Bergk, 159
 είνου ? OX. Pap 178 13 L 3
 είνου 21 L 10, 141 L 11 είνου 7 L 4 είνου OX. Pap 1231 2 L 9 ? είνου (= είνου) emend. Bergk, 92 είνου (είνου) 27 L 2 see also είνου (είνου)
 είνου 21 L 14 23 L 2 101 L 4 (added) 24 L 2 (added) είνου 31 19 (? MS) 141 L 26 Hoffmann denies the use of είνου
 είνου 9 L 13 είνου 86 L 7
 είνου 21 L 9
 είνου by emend. (for MS είνου or είνου) 4 L 7 40 L 5
 είνου (= είνου) 40 L 6
 είνου 3 L 26 20 (γ) 24 L 3 41 L 13
 είνου 66 L 2 100 141 L 8 OX. Pap 123 L 1
 είνου (είνου) 141 L 31
 [είνου] είνου, 9 L 15
 είνου 133 L 2
 [είνου] είνου 138 L 3 (cf. Theocr 29 24)
 [είνου] είνου, 24 L 4
 [είνου] είνου 107 L 5
 είνου, 124 L 2
 είνου = holder used by Sappho as an epithet of Zeus Hector was called so, as the upholder of his country The word as a common noun meant a peg in a carriage pole Hesychius; Bergk, 157

- ἐλέλυσδον or ἐλέλυσαν (ἐλελίζω),
 141 l 19
 ἐλέφαις (= ἐλέφας), ivory, 141 l 10
 ἐλίγματα, circlets, 141 l 8
 ἐλικώπιδα, 141 l 5, ἐλικώπιδες, 160
 ? ἔλκος, a wound, 172
 ἔλκην (= ἔλκειν), 15 l 3
 ἔλπις, 87 l 5
 ἐμ' αὐτα, 37 l 11, ἐμαυτ
 (possibly ἐμ' αὐτα), Ox Pap 1231,
 161 l 11, 23 l 1
 ἔμματα (= εἶματα Hesychius,
 ἑμματα ἱμάτια), 86 l 12, 141 l 8
 ἐμμελεστέρα (cf ἀδυμελεστέρα), 159c
 ἐμμελέως, 82 l 1
 ἐμμι (εἰμί), 4 l 15, 44, ἔων (= ὦν),
 28 l 1, ἔον, 87 l 7, ἔοισα
 (οὔσα), ? 163 l 1, ἔστι, 54 l 1,
 123 (added), ἦσθ', 41 l 15,
 ἦν, 64 l 2, 123, ἔμμεναι, 8 l 3,
 61 l 2, 107 l 19, ἔμμεν, 4 l 2,
 181 l 3, Berl Klass-Texte, P 9722,
 3 l 10, ἔσσομαι, 132, ἔσσεται,
 24 l 2, 63 l 2, ἔσσεσθαι, 23 l 2,
 ἔσσο (ἴσθι), 3 l 28, ἔσσα (= οὔσα),
 28 l 2
 ἔμος, 99, ἔμον, 11 l 11, 33 l 1,
 42 l 1, 48, ἔμαν, 4 l 5 (or
 μάν), 45 l 2, ἔμας, *gen sing*,
 3 l 6, ἔμοις (? ἔμαισι), 89b l 5,
 ἔμαις, *acc*, 47 l 1
 ἐμπέσων (Hoffmann ἐμπέτων), 47 l 2
 ἐμπρέπεται, 6 l 7
 ἐμφέρην, 54 l 2
 ἐν, 4 l 6, 8 l 9, 8 l 20, 24 l 3
 (κῆν = κῆ ἐν, Hoffm), 32 l 3,
 61 l 1, 65 l 1, 89b l 2, 128 l 1,
 134 l 1, Ox Pap 1231, 2 l 2,
 30 l 2, Ox Pap 1787, 9 l 3,
 ἐνί, 141 l 7, ἐνν, 110 l 10
 ἐνάντιος, 4 l 2, ἐναντ Ox Pap
 1231, 17 l 4
 ἔνθα, Ox Pap 1231, 17
 ἔννεκα, Ox Pap 1787, 5 l 5
 ἐννέπω, ? 163, ἐννέποντες, 10 l 10
 Lobel 'εννέποισα
 ἐννόεις (Edm from MS), 55 *ad*
finem
 ἐξαγον 141 l 20
 ἐξαλείψας (ἐξαλείφω, 2nd *sing*
aor), 7 l 21
 ἐξεδίδαξ', 20
 ἐξίκοντο, 3 l 13
 ἐξίης, 7 l 24
 ἐξόχως, 126 l 3
 ? ἐπάβολ', 31 l 1
 ἔπαρθαι (= ἐπῆρθαι), 21 l 12
 ? ἔττα, ἐπέων, 1
 ἐπέβαινε, 141 l 15
 ? ἐπέθηκε, 165 l 1
 ἔπει, 4 l 17, 85 l 15 (MS)
 ? ἐπέικη, 85 l 15
 ἐπερμύεια (= ἐφευρίσκειν), 15 l 1
 ἐπήρατοι, 141 l 30
 ἐπί, *acc*, 6 l 11, 7 l 22, 8 l 2, 19
 1 2, 95, 141 l 7, *gen*, 15 l 3, 74,
 85 l 10, Ox Pap 1231, 9 l 3,
dat, 9 l 14, 26 l 2, 126 l 2,
 133 l 1, 133 l 2
 ἐπι 21 l 9
 ἐπιβάλλομαι, 131
 ἐπίδεσμα, 85 l 1
 ἐπιδευήν (= ἐπιδευέιν for
 ἐπιδευέσθαι), MSS *πιδενει*,
τιδευσην, *πιδενκην*, 4 l 15
 ἐπίκεσθαι (= ἐφίκεσθαι), 133 l 3
 ἐπιλυδ glorious, Ox Pap 1231,
 2 l 8
 ἐπιλείψω (ἐπιλείβω, or ἐπιλείπω),
 96
 ἐπιμνάσθαισα (ἐπιμνήσκω), 6 l 17
 ἐπιπλάζοντα (Hoffm takes as =
 ἐπερχόμενον from a gloss of
 Hesychius), Etym M 335, 38,
 takes it as an aeolic form of
 ἐπιπλήσσω, but it would appear
 to be an active form of ἐπιπλα-
 ζομαι
 ? ἐπιπτάμενον (ἐπιπέταμαι), 80 l 2
 ἐπιρρόμβεισι (ἐπιρρόμβημι), else-
 where only in Schol Pind 1,
 4, 78, 4 l 11

ἐπισταμένα, 151 3
 ἐπιοχαί, 61 10
 [ἐπιτίθημι] πλίσσισα, 22b 1 8
 ἐπιτ 111 9
 ἐπιχαρ Ox. Pap 1787 37
 1 3
 ἐπιτα, 115
 ἐπιτορόγιοι, 138 1 1
 ἐπώμοσσ Ox. Pap 1787 91 1
 (ἐ)ρανα (MS ὠράνα) 83 ὠ'ρανα,
 22a ἐράναν 54 1 3
 ἐράται (ἐραμαι for ἐρηται, sub-
 junct.) 84 ἡράμαν (? from
 ἐράω) 18 1 1
 ἐρατον 81 17 ἐράταις or ἐράτοις
 12 1 1 ἐράτων 7 1 18
 ἐργον 147 1 3 Ox. Pap 1231
 12 1 2 ἔργα, 56, 85 1 20
 ἔργων Ox. Pap 1231 2 1 6
 no sign of digamma
 ἐρέβινθοι, 74
 ἐρεμα, 9 1 18
 ἐρεῦθεται, 133 1 1
 ? ἐρηται (ἐρόμαι) 163 1 1
 ἐρέοντα, 82 1 2
 ἐρος 46 1 1 47 1 1 126 1 2
 ἐρον 10 1 12 ἐρος (MS ἐρος) 41
 1 25 ἐρωτος 40 1 3 ἐρωτες (?)
 Ox. Pap 1787 11 1 4
 ἐρων (σ.λ. ελπι) said to be an
 Egyptian word for wine
 (Eustathius) 140 1 2
 ἐρχεται, 136 1 5 ἐλθ 89b 1 1
 ἐλθην (= ἐλθ εἰ) 6 1 19
 ἐλθοντα, 100 ἐρχεο 7 1 8
 ἐλθε, 141 1 2, 141 1 12 ἐλθ εἰ
 3 1 8, ? 45 1 1
 ἐσλα (= ἐσθλα) 140b 1 2 ἐσλα,
 85 1 4 ἐσλων 11 1 2 27 1 1
 ἐσλ Ox. Pap 1231 2 1 3
 ? ἐσωτες (see under εἶπον MS
 YECCEP) Hoffm. reads
 μέλωτες 93
 ἐνδρας (= ἐνδρας) 128 ἐναιραι,
 111 ἐνδραις (dat. or as Hoffm.
 acc) 89b 1 4

ἐταιρος Berl. Klass. Texte, v P
 5006 8
 ἐται, 22 1 10
 ἐτερο (MS emend to ὀτερο) 59
 ἐτέρωτα (= ἐτέρωθ) 3 1 5
 ἐτι, 41 8 (ἐτι) 24 1 1 131 ? 163 1 1
 (Edm.) Ox. Pap 1787 9 1 2
 32 1 3
 εἶ 22 1 9 37 1 3, 57 1 2 144
 Ox. Pap 1231 2 1 5 (or οἶ)
 ibid., 51 1 2
 εἰάνθεα ? (so MS) 12 1 3
 ? εἰγένηται, 13 1 9 εἰγένης Schol
 Hom. II 20 234 Bergk, 139
 εἰδαίμο (as Edm. Klass. prefers
 ἔρουκ δελαν 156 εἰδαιμονίας
 66 1 3 Lobel rejects εἰδαίμο
 ἔκαμπτον 81 13
 ? εὐκλέισον 163 1 6
 εὐλέρων 141 1 31
 εὐμαρες 8 1 5
 εὐμορφότερα, 16
 ? εὐμετες 172
 ? εὐπρέπεις Schol Hom., II 20
 234 Bergk, 139
 ἔρηγ = ευρεῖν 112 1 2
 ἐντρόχοις acc 141 1 13
 ἐντρίχρον 141 1 12
 ἐχθροισι, 9 1 7
 ἐχω 44 1 2 Berl. Klass. Texte P
 9722 31 4 ἐχης = ἐχης queried
 by Weir Smyth 124 1 2 ἐχ-
 εσθα, 35 1 1 124 1 2 ἐχει, ? 1
 14, 66 1 2 87 1 5 ἐχεν (= εἶχεν)
 64 ἦχης (= εἶχης) 27 1 1
 ἦχον Berl. Klass. Texte, 9722,
 3 ἐχοισα, 61 3 54 1 2 Ox. Pap
 1787 11 1 6 ἐχοισαν Ox. Pap
 1231 2 1 3 ἐχοντα, MS omitted
 by Edd., 100 ἐχοισιν Ox. Pap
 1231 2 1 3 50 1 8 ἐχην Ox.
 Pap 1787 12 1 5 cf 87 1 4

F

Fέαγς (ἀγνομι) 4 1 9
 Fέων read Fέη see εἶπω

Φέσπερε, 129 l 1

Φίδρωσ, see ἰδρωσ

Φικέλαν, 6 l 5, but see also ἱκελος

Φιοπλόκων (MS ἰοπλοκάμων), 57 l 1

? Φίσσος (= ἴσος), 136 l 3

Φίτυν, Ter Maurus, *De Syll* 658, implies that Sappho used this word with the digamma. It means the "rim of a wheel"

Φοί, see note to *Fragm* 4, Bergk, 111, Φοῖσι, 9 l 6

? Φοῖδα (Fick), 4 l 3

Φόν, 103

Z

ζάβατον (= διάβατον), Cramer, *Anecd Ox* 325, 27, Bergk, 158

ζὰ ἐλεξάμαν (Edm διελεξάμαν, to avoid hiatus), 94, ζάλεξαι, *Ox Pap* 1231, 50 l 3

ζὰ ἔχην, by tmesis, 87 l 4

ζαφ *Ox Pap* 1231, 55 l 4

? ζάφθερρον (διαφθεῖρον)

ζαφοίταισα or ζαφοίταισι (διαφοιτάω), 6 l 16

ζαφύγοιμι, 156b

(ζάω) ἐζώομεν, 6 l 11

H

ἦ *than* 8 l 19, ἦπερ, 142 l 11

ἦ or 21 l 7, 27 l 1, ? 36 l 1, 89a bis

ἦ *verily*, 7 l 6, 86 l 4, 87 l 3,

ἦ, Berl Klass-Texte, 5, P 5006

ἦβα (= ἦβη), 156b

ἦδέ, *Ox Pap* 1787, 36 l 5

ἦδη, 31 l 4, 40 l 1, 41 l 12

? ἦερίων (should be ἀερίων), 1

ἦῖθεοι, epic for ἀῖθεοι, 141 l 18

ἦλευ (*2nd pers aor* from ἄλλομαι), 38 l 3

ἦμιτβύιον, 158

ἦξω, 135 l 2 bis

ἦρα (= ἀρα), 21 l 4, 131

ἦρεο (= ἦρου from ἔρομαι), 3 l 15

ἦρος (or *Fḡros* = ἔαρος), 84, and see Bergk, 124

ἦς, 141 l 28

ἦσι, he says, 150

? ἦσμεθ, *Ox Pap* 1231, 18 l 6

Θ

θαασσ, *Ox Pap* 1787, 11 l 7

θάλαμος, ? 164 l 2, θαλαμ

Ox Pap 1231, 18 l 7

θάλασσαν, 6 l 11

θαλῖαισι, 89b l 2

[θάλλω] τεθάλαιοι (= τεθήλαιοι), 6 l 13

θαμέων, thick, 37 l 1

θέλγει, 15 l 2

θέλω, 3 l 17, 7 l 2, 7 l 10, 37 l 9,

Ox Pap 1787, 12 l 4, θέλτε,

153, θέλη, 9 l 3, θελήσῃς, 22

16, θέλοι, 9 l 9, see also

ἐθέλω

θέμις, 6 l 1, *θέμις*, 1

θέος, 87 l 3, θέα, 6 l 5, θεοί,

? 1, ? 62 l 2, 64 l 1, *Ox Pap*

1231, 51 l 4, θεοίς, 141 l 12,

θεοίσι, 4 l 1, 39 l 3, 140a l 2,

θέαισι, 6 l 22

θεοικέλοις (= θεοικέλους), or θεοίκελον, 141 l 33

θεράπων, 99, θεράπαιναν, 106

θεσπεσία, 141 l 29

θῆται, 4 l 9

θίγοισα (= θίγουσα), 4 l 4

[θναίσκω] ? θάνοισαν, 164 l 1,

τεθνάκην (τεθνηκένοι), 4 l 15,

7 l 2, ? θναίσκην, ? ἔθναισκον

164 see also ἀπυθναίσκω

θνάταις, 40 l 9

θόαισι, 6 l 24

θρήνον, 6 l 2

? θυγάτηρ, 105, θύγατρεις, 141 l 16

θῦμος, 3 l 27, 79 l 1, θῦμον, 3 l 11,

Berl Klass-Texte, 5, P 5006,

θύμω, 3 l 18, 9 l 3, 22 l 5

θύοισι, *Ox Pap* 1231, 2 l 2

θύραν, *Ox Pap* 1787, 19 l 2

θυρώρω, *gen*, 138 l 1, ? 139

I

ἴαν (= ἴαν) Edm. reads οὐδ' ἴαν
 (= οὐδ' ἐμ' ἴαν) 23 l. 1
 ἴδρας corrected in MS from ἴδρας
 (Aeolic ἴδρας) γεν. sing., 141
 l. 6 ἴρον Berl. Klass. Texte,
 9722, 3
 ἴχον 141 l. 30
 ἴνδρας the back of the knee Ox.
 Pap 1231 18 l. 3
 ἴδρω (Hoffm. ἴδρω) 4 l. 13
 ἴδρει (?) ἴδρει 4 l. 3
 ἴκατε, 141 l. 28
 ἴκει (MS εἴκει, Doric) 4 l. 8
 ἴκεσθαι, 9 l. 2 ἴκεσθ' 86 l. 10
 ἴκελοι (see also ἴκελος) 141 l. 21
 ? ἴματις γεν., 1598
 ἴμερος 4 l. 5 ἴμερόντα, 107 l. 10
 ἴμερος 21 l. 13 ἴμερῶ γεν. 6
 l. 17 27 l. 1 ἴμερο Ox.
 Pap 1787 10 l. 2 ἴμερον Ox.
 Pap 1787 10 l. 7
 ἴμερόφαντος 84 cf. Theocr. 28, 9
 ἴμερρει, 3 l. 27
 ἴμερτε 126 l. 2 ? ἴμερται 164 l. 4
 ἰακόλῳ, γεν., 142 l. 8
 ἰακλόκων see ἱωαλάκων 57 l. 1
 ἱκων Ox. Pap 1231 32 l. 1
 ἱκποις 141 l. 17
 ἱκπών (ἱκπύς) 8 l. 1
 ἰάμεθρα, 45 l. 3
 ἱσος 4 l. 1 ἱσος (see ἱσος) 136
 l. 3 ἱσαν 141 l. 3 ἱσα, 41 l. 15
 ἱσος 6 l. 12
 [ἱστημι] ἰστέθησαν 76 l. 2 στέθ
 (= στήθι) 26 l. 1 στέσαι
 (= στήσαι) 21 l. 14
 ἱστον 53 l. 1
 ? ἱψήλων (= ὑψηλῶν) 170
 ἱφοι (= ὀφοῖ MS) 136 l. 1
 ἱων (from ἱον) 7 l. 13

K

κάγ (= κατ) γεν., 87 l. 1
 κάδ 6 l. 28 κάτ 141 l. 30

καί, occurs 79 times
 ? καιόμενος 43 l. 2
 καίτοι, 110 l. 7
 ? κακοζῶας 165 l. 2
 κέκον 27 l. 2 64 l. 1 κέκον 9
 l. 19
 κακότατος 11 l. 15
 κακότροπ 38 l. 4
 κακχέται (= καταχέται) 4 l. 13
 κάλημι στ κάλημι (καλέω) Ox.
 Pap 1787 44 l. 4 κάλει, 103
 ? κέκλθεν Ox. Pap 1231 18 l. 5
 καλλίκομοι, 120
 καλλιπάρροι (Hoffm. καλλιπάρροι)
 160
 κέλος 63 l. 1 63 l. 2 143 l. 4
 κέλα, ποταμ. fem., 6 l. 13, 54 l. 1
 127 κέλον 41 l. 25 64 l. 2
 Berl. Klass. Texte, 5 P 5006 l. 6
 κέλαν 5 l. 5 14 74 86 l. 11
 κέλοι, 3 l. 9 κέλα, 7 l. 12,
 41 l. 10 87 l. 8 (κέλ.) 107 l. 3
 (κέλ.) 141 l. 9 κέλων 11 l. 6
 27 l. 1 κέλαια 33 l. 1 κέλλιστος
 στ κέλλιστος 130 κέλλιστον 8 l. 3
 στ κέλλιστον 8 l. 8 κέλλως 34
 l. 2, 125 l. 1 125 l. 2 κέλλιστα,
 125 l. 2
 κέλλος 8 l. 7
 [καλέστω] κέλλετε 147 l. 2
 κέμ (= κατέ) 4 l. 9 146
 κέματος 143 l. 6
 [κέρνω] κέρμε (edd. κέρμπε) 30
 κέποι (= κήποι) 161
 καρδίαν (κάρξεν Edm.) 4 l. 6
 11 l. 10
 κέρυξ (= κήρυξ) 141 l. 2
 κερχῆσια, 140 b l. 1
 κασία, 141 l. 32
 κασίγνητον 9 l. 2 κασίγνηται
 9 l. 9
 κασπολέω στ κασπολέω (κατα
 στέλλω) 146
 κάτ (= κατέ) acc 107 l. 12
 κατά, γεν. 41 l. 191 ? γο acc
 42 141 l. 12

κατα Οχ Pap 1231, 39 1 3
κατάγρει, 148 1 1 Hesych =
καθαίρει καταλαμβάνει Sappho
κατάρρει (for καρρέει, if the former
is admissible in Aeolic some
would read κατάγρει), 72 1 4
κατάγωγis, 5 1 5
κατάρης (Hoffm = κατωρής), Eust.,
603, 39 Sappho and Alcaeus
used άνεμος κατάρης for a cyclone
So possibly it should be read for
κατ' ὄρος, 47 1 2 Bergk, 160
καταστέίβοισι (? κασσείβοισι), 31 d
pers φλιρ, 134 1 2
? καταύλει (Finck for MS
καταυδείη), 80 1 2
κατελίππανε, 7 1 3
κατερείκεσθε, 90 1 2
κατέρωτα for καὶ ἐτέρωθι, 3 1 5
κατέτᾱν (= καθέταν, for καθέτως?),
vertical, which does not suit
ἐπιπτάμενον Wilam (Sappho
und Sim, p 61) reads κατ' ἔλαν,
for Féλαν, 80 1 2
κατεύδω (= καθένδω), 71 1 4
κάτηχεν (= κατεῖχεν), MS εἶχεν,
em by Melhorn, 27 1 3
? καθεμένα, 163 1 2
καθναίσκει, 90 1 1, καθάνην
(= καθανεῖν), 21 1 13,
καθάνοισα, 24 1 1
κατισδάνει (= καθιζάνει), 143 1 7
κάτισχεν, 39 1 8
καττύπτεσθε (κατατύπτομαι), 90 1 2
καυχάσαντο, 10 1 10 Lob καυχά-
σαιτο
κε, 8 1 17 (κε), 9 1 3, 9 1 13 (κ'),
9 1 15, 9 1 17, 27 1 3, 40 1 10,
41 1 16, 64 1 2, 87 1 7, 90 1 1,
149, Ox Pap 1321, 1, 5 1 2,
1787, 3*, Berl Klass-Texte, 5,
P 5006, 1 6
κείσαι, 24 1 1
κελάδει, of a gentle sound, 72
1 2
κέλομαι, 5 1 1

[κεράννυμι] ἐκέκρατο, 140a 1 1
κῆ (= ἐκεῖ), 140a 1 1
κῆθι (edd for MS κῆθι) Diehl,
κῆθι (? = ἐκεῖσε), thither, 6
1 19
κῆνος (= ἐκεῖνος), 4 1 1 see also
note to Fragn 4 (Bergk, 111),
κῆνοι, 37 1 3, 140b 1 1, κῆνο,
8 1 1, κῆνον, 86 1 4
κῆρ, 6 1 18
κίνδυν, γεν κίνδυνος, acc κίνδυια
(= κίνδυνος, etc) Cheroboscus,
1, 282, Bergk, 161
? κλαῖην, 174
κλέηδον (= κλήδω), Οχ Pap
1787, 14 1 4
κλέος, 110 1 9, 141 1 4
κλήτοι (= κλείτοι), Edm Others
πρώτοι, 107 1 4
κλόνει, 143 1 5
κλύτων, 11 1 5
[κλύω] ἐκλύες, 3 1 7
? κολώναν, hill, 173
? κόμα, 108, κόμαν, 164 1 4
κόνις, 164 1 1
κόρα, ? 163 1 3, κόραι, 90 1 2,
119, ? 171
[κορέννυμι] κεκορημένοις, acc, 17
1 1
κούφως, 8 1 14
? κῶσις, 66 1 2
κράτηρ, 140a 1 1, κράτηρες, 141
1 31
? κῶτος (γεν of κῶς), 164 1 4,
? κῶτα, 55 1 10
κρέκην (= κρέκειν), 53 1 1
κρέτῃσαι (= κράτῃσαι), 85 1 4
? κρίνον read in MS by Edm, 55
1 4
[κρίνω] κεκρίκασι (MS κεκρίκασι),
64 1 2
κροτάλων, 141 1 27
κροκόεντα, 55 1 7
κυάνεος, 164 1 2
[κυκάω] ἐκύκα, 27 1 2
? κύκνος, 108

καλλίκευσι, 89b l. 2
 ? κέρρον 165 l. 2
 κῶμα, 72 l. 4
 ? κῶπας 165 l. 2

Λ

λάβουσα (= λάβουσα) 5 l. 2 31 l. 8
 λάθα, 25 l. 4 ? 59a, 60 λάθαν 35
 [λανθάνομαι, λάθομαι] λελάνθοντο, το-
 dupl. ερίσ ασσ., 133 l. 2 λάθειαι,
 7 l. 11 λαλάθ., Ox. Pap 1787
 12 l. 3
 λάρα 75 l. 3
 λάραρον 81 l. 18 41 l. 25
 λασίοισι, closely ποσειπ λικεν,
 σπιδόητο ἐπεστροφόμενον Pollux,
 vii, 73 144
 [λαγχάνω] λάχεμεν (MS. λαχεῖν)
 57 l. 2 λαχόν (MS λαχόν)
 88 l. 2 λλόγχε, 41 l. 25
 [λέγω] λέγετε 27 l. 4 λέγεται,
 Ox. Pap 1231 27 l. 2
 [λείβω] λειβον 140b l. 2
 [λείπω] λίποισα, 3 l. 7 λίποις 135
 1 l. 1 λίποισαι, 118
 λίστο 4 l. 19 λίσταν 6 l. 18
 λιποφάν Ox. Pap 1231 22
 l. 2
 λίσκας, 95 l. 1 λευκότερα, ? 159c
 λευκότερον 112 l. 3
 ? λευκόσκιδες 171
 λίβανος 141 l. 28
 λίγχαν (= λίγχαν) Ox. Pap 1787
 13 l. 11
 λιγχαν acc sing., 80 l. 1 λίγχαναι,
 38 l. 7 λιγχαν gen. pl., 41 l. 11
 λίσσομαι, 3 l. 2
 λίγχαν 9 l. 10
 λυμαίν Ox. Pap 1787 14 l. 8
 λυμαίν *ibid* 26 l. 3
 λήτης (= λυπεῖς) 11 l. 7
 λέρ, ? 108 λέρ Ox. Pap 1787
 29 l. 3
 λωσιμάλις, 46 l. 1
 [λῶ] λῶσο 2 l. 25 λῶσαι, 9 l. 5
 ? λῶθεισα, 167

? λῶπεια, read by Edm., 55 l. 7
 λωτίνοισ (Berl. Klass. Texte, P
 9722 4) 21 l. 14

Μ

μά, 21 l. 11
 μαυόλη (from μαυόλης) 3 l. 15
 μάομαι, 151 μαομαι 45 l. 1
 μαῖο (= μαῖοις from μαῖς) or
 μῖς (from μέω) Some read
 μεῖομαι, 3 l. 19
 μάκαρ, 11 l. 19 μάκαιρα, 3 l. 13
 μάκαιρα, Ox. Pap 1231 20 l. 4
 μάκαιραν 21 l. 11 μακάρων 86 l.
 6 μακαίρων 12 l. 3
 μάκρως (= μακροῦ) 9 l. 16
 μάλα, 17 l. 1 111 μάλλον 12 l. 4
 μάλιστα, 3 l. 17 6 l. 6 21 l. 18
 31 l. 11 37 l. 3, 75 l. 3 μάλιστα,
 Ox. Pap 1231 30 l. 1
 μάλακον περὶ 82 l. 3 μαλα-
 κότερα, ? 159g
 μαλθάκαν 145 l. 1; see μολθάκαν
 μαλίνων (μηλίνων) 72 l. 3
 μαλοδρόμους (= μηλοδρόμους) 133
 l. 2
 μάς (= μάς or μάς for εἶμαι) 4 l. 5,
 7 l. 6 133 l. 3 Ox. Pap 1787 5
 l. 4
 ? μάδην (= μαδῆν or μαδῆα,
 but this is a masculine garment)
 5 l. 2
 [μάπτω] μαπταν 41 l. 20
 μάσλης (= μάσθλης) 147 l. 2
 μάττωσαι (= πατοῦσαι Hesych
 μετὶ water. Cf. Theocr 29 13
 But some take this line separately
 from the others and make
 μάττωσαι = ζητοῦσαι) 82 l. 3
 μάτερ, 53 l. 1 μάτερα, 52 μάτερα,
 129 l. 2
 μάχεσθαι, 22 l. 7
 μαφυλάκαν (MS μαφυλάκταν) 65
 l. 2
 με (see also εἶγω) 14 times μοι,
 15 times

μέγα, 110 1 7, *μεγάλω*
(= *μεγάλου*), 136 1 4, *μεγάλαις*
(? *acc plur*), 85 1 9
μεγαλύνεο (*imperat*), 29
μεγάλωστι, 141 1 18
μειδιάσαισα (*μειδιάσασα*), 3 1 14,
? *μειδίαισα*, O χ Pap 1787, 27 1 3
μείζων, see *μέσδων*
μέλαθρον, 136 1 1
μέλαις (= *μέλας*), 149, *μέλαιναν*,
8 1 2, *μελαίνας* (*gen*), 3 1 10,
85 1 6, *μελαίνας*, 87 1 1,
μελαίναν (*gen plur*), 41 1 13
μέλεα (*μέλος*, a limb), 145 1 2
μελεδώναις (*acc*), 42 1 3
μέλημα, 48
μέλι, 69, *μέλιτι*, O χ Pap 1231,
24 1 3
μελίλωτος, 6 1 15
μελίσαις (*acc* or read *μέλισσα*), 69
? *μελίφωνοι*, 160
μέλλιχα (= *μείλιχα*, for MS
μέλλιχρ'), 126 1 2
μελλιχόφωνος, 38 1 6, *μελλι-*
χόφωνοι (or *μελίφωνοι* MS
μελλιχοφωνοτέραι), 160
μέλος, 38 1 5, 141 1 28
[*μέμφομαι*] *έμεμφόμαν*, 5 1 7,
? *μεμ* O χ Pap 1231, 50 1 2
μένοισα (= *μένουσα*), O χ Pap 1231,
2 1 1
μέν, 21 times, *μέν τε*, 11 1 5, 146
μερίμναν (*gen plur*), 3 1 26,
40 1 7, *μερίμνα*, O χ Pap 1787,
30 1 1
μέσδων not *μείζων*, 136 1 4, ? *μεσδον*,
O χ Pap 1231, 1, 5 1 7
μέσσω (= *μέσου*), 3 1 12, *μέσαι*,
7 1 1 2, *μέσσον*, 6 1 21
μέτρια, O χ Pap 1231, 5 1 2
μή, 3 1 3, 3 1 23, 7 1 10, 13 1 13,
16 1 4, 27 1 2, 30 68 1 1,
O χ Pap 1231, 12 1 6, 1787,
24 1 2, *μήτι*, 21 1 18 see also
οὐμή
μηδέ (MS *μήτε*), 3 1 3

μήδεις, 9 1 8, *μηδεν*, 16 1 2, 87 1 6
μήνα (MS edd *σελάννα*), 6 1 9
μήτε, 69 bis, O χ Pap 1787, 20 1 2:
see also *μηδέ*
μήκετι, 39 1 11
[*μίνγνυμι*] *μεμίνμενον*, 152, *έμίνγνυτο*,
14 1 1 14
[*μιμναίσκω*] *μέμναισο* (MS *μέ-*
μναισθ'), 7 1 9, 8 1 15 (MS
μεμνα, corr to *μεμναι*), 8 1 15,
έμνάσθη, 8 1 11, *έμνάσεσθε*,
32 1 3, *μνάσεσθαι*, 59
? *μνᾶμα*, 165 1 2
μναμοσύνα, 24 1 1
μολθάκαν, 7 1 22 and 145 1 1
μόλπα, 6 1 6
μοισσοπόλω (MS *μουσο-όλων*), 61 1 1
μόνα, 7 1 1 4
μόρφαν, 6 1 23, 54 1 2
μύγης (= *μόγης*), 86 1 7
μυθολόγησαι, O χ Pap 1, 5 1 5
**μυθόπλοκον*, of Eros, 102
μύρρα (= *σμύρνα*), Antiat Bekker,
Anecd 1, 108, 22 "Sappho in her
Second Book" Bergk, 163, 141
1 32
μύρω, 7 1 19

N

? *ναρκίσσου*, Cram, *Anecd* O χ 1,
413, 1591
ναυᾶδην (unexplained word), O χ
Pap 1231, 12 1 5
[*ναῦς*] *νάων*, 8 1 2, *ναῦσιν*, 21 1 15,
14 1 1 7
νεβρίοισιν, 41 1 15
νέκταρ, 6 1 28, 89b 1 3, see Athen
39a and Bergk, *Alcman*, 100
νεκύων, 24 1 4
? *νεόθαγι* (= *νεοθηγι*), 164 1 3
[? *νέος*] introduced by Bergk (*νέω*),
28 1 2, see also Bergk, 139,
Schol II xx, 234, *ἔθος γὰρ*
ἦν, ὡς καὶ Σαπφώ φησι, νέους
εὐγενεῖς εὐπρετεῖς οἰνοχοεῖν
νεώτερον, 28 1 1

μέγας (= μέγιστος) 321 3
 ? μέ (MS Edm. μέ = μέλει Hesych)
 Lobel takes it as part of [δου]νηκε
 9 l. 15
 ἰσόν carbonals of soda Phryn
 305 (Bergk, 165)
 νίφος, Ox. Pap 1231 231 2
 [νός] δέισα, Ox. Pap 1231
 211 3 νόση 8 l. 14 ? νόστα
 6 l. 20
 ὄμα or ὄμμα, 3 l. 11 11 l. 18
 22 l. 3, 33 νόματα, 43
 νομ(σ)δα (= νομ(ε)) 41 l. 2-
 ? νόσοι, 113
 νύ, 82 l. 1 νύν 120
 νύξ 6 l. 20 νύκτος 149 νύκτα,
 50 νύχτ 142 l. 1 νύκτες
 71 l. 3 Berl. Klass. Texte, 9722
 3 l. 8
 νύμφα, 121 122
 νῦν 3 l. 25, 6 l. 7 8 l. 15, 16 l. 3,
 18 l. 7 34 l. 1 86 l. 9, 107 l. 11
 Ox. Pap 1231 17 l. 3, 18 l. 7
 1787 5 l. 5
 νῶν (= νόον) 61 3
 νῶν (= νῶν) 6 l. 20 see also ἔγω

B

βάνβα, 49 l. 4
 βύλον (see σκυδάριο) Phot. 81 12
 (Bergk, 167)

O

δ (= d) 4 l. 2 48 63 l. 1 63 l. 2,
 64, 66 l. 1 121 130 137 149a,
 Ox. Pap 1787 38 l. 2 see also
 d ol (= ol) 8 l. 1 bis 10 l. 2
 ? 64 τόν 8 l. 8 9 l. 2, 53
 88 l. 2 91 92 103 τόν (acc
 sing) 5 l. 5 9 l. 9 13, 20, 26 l. 2
 44 l. 2, 87 l. 4, 98 l. 1 134, Ox.
 Pap 1787 9 l. 2 as relative,
 7 107 l. 3 ? 164 τό, 8 l. 14
 (το) 10 l. 3 11 l. 10, 33 l. 1
 41 l. 25 bis 48 ? 66 l. 2 133 l. 1
 136 l. 1 Ox. Pap 1231 28 1787
 5 l. 6, ? 191 5 as relative, 4 l. 5

7 l. 7 9 l. 13 with infinitive,
 ? 64 l. 1 τῷ (= τοῦ) 27 l. 4
 τῆς 3 l. 6 8 l. 17 (τῆς) 16 l. 5,
 39 τῆς 66 l. 1 141 l. 4
 Ox. Pap 1231 21 l. 2 τῆς
 49 l. 9 τῆς, 6 l. 19, 7 l. 11
 (d) 8 l. 19 15 l. 3, 22 l. 10
 43, 56, 79 l. 2 85 l. 13 86 l. 12
 138 l. 2, ? 141 l. 3 Ox. Pap
 1231 1 τας (acc. pl. or gen.
 sing) Ox. Pap 1231 21 l. 2,
 31 l. 7 τῶν, 15 l. 3 24 l. 2
 τῶν gen. pl., 40 l. 7 τοῖς 87 l. 10,
 89b l. 5 (MS) ταῖς, 33 l. 1
 34 l. 2 ταῖς, 79 l. 1 87 l. 5
 [δδ] τῶς 7 l. 4 10 l. 2, 40 l. 9,
 ? 163 l. 1 (MS τῶν) Ox. Pap
 1231 21 9 τόνδε 88 l. 2 τῶς
 7 l. 7 34 l. 1 61 l. 2
 δδέρκεν (?) Ox. Pap. 1787 9 l. 1
 δδοίποροι, 86 l. 6
 δδοῖς (acc) 141 l. 30
 οἶδα, 43 ἴσθα, 7 l. 9 22 l. 9
 ἴδμεν 8 l. 21 Ox. Pap 1231
 2 l. 5 {οἶ, 40 l. 7
 δλίγω (= δλίγου) or δλίγω, 4 l. 15
 ? δέω adv (possibly δδω might be
 read) 6 l. 19 Berl. Klass. Texte,
 9723, 3 l. 7
 οἰκίς, 61 l. 1
 δ (= dno) ? 173 see also under δνδ
 οἶν (for MS οἶνον Casaubon) 129
 1 2
 οἶνοχόρεια (οἶνοχόρεια) 89b l. 4
 οἶνοχόρεια, 140a l. 2 see also
 Athen x, 424 F (Bergk, 139)
 ἴον 133 l. 1 οἶαν 134 l. 1
 ἴχνη, MS emended to δποῖχνη, 135
 l. 1
 δλβιε, 124 l. 1 δλβίαν 25 l. 3
 δλευσε (= εἰλεσε) 8 l. 9
 δλευσε (? εἰλεσε) Ox. Pap 1787
 38 l. 3
 δλυν (= δλυν a flask) or εἰρυν
 140a l. 2
 δλοφωτός Ox. Pap 1787 5 l. 3

ὀμναισαι (= ἀναμνησαι), 7 l 11
 [ὀμνυμι] ὀμώμοκα, Edm Berl
 Klass-Texte, P 9722, 3 l 2
 ὀμπέτασσον (ἀμπέτασσον), 26 l 2
 ὄναρ, adv, 94
 ὄν ἐδεξάμαν (MS ἄν κ' by
 tmesis), Ox Pap 1231, 1 *ad fin*
 ὀνεδέχυντο ὀνέλ(ε)ίχυντο, ἀναδεί-
 κνυμι or ἀναλείχυνμι (?), 141 l 21
 ? ὀνέθηκε (ἀνέθηκε), 163 l 3
 ὀνειδισμ' or ὀνειδος, 9 l 13,
 ὀνειδος, 11 l 8
 ? ὄν ἐφλαζας (Edm from
 ἀναφλέγω), or better ἔψυξας
 from ψύχω Lobel, by tmesis,
 45 l 2
 ὀνεμίγνυτο (ἀναμίγνυμι), 141 l 26
 ὀνηχον (= ἀνειχον), 140b, ὀνεχ
 Ox Pap 1231, 17 l 8
 ὀνίας (*gen sing* for ἀνίας), 87 l 3,
 ὀνίαν, *gen pl*, 9 l 10; *acc sing*
 after Blass, 156 l 1, ὀνίαισι,
 9 l 14
 ὀγκαλέοντες (= ἀνακαλοῦντες), 141
 l 31
 ὀνοιρε (= ὀνειρε), 87 l 1
 ὀνόρουσε (= ἀνώρουσε), 141 l 11
 ὀπάσδοι (= ὀπάζοι), 41 l 22
 ὀπλοισι, 8 l 19
 ὀπισ[θεν], 7 l 27
 ὀππατα (= ὀμματα), 27 l 3, 126
 l 1, ὀππάτεσαι, 4 l 11
 ὀπποτα, 75 l 3, 80 l 2
 ὀπταις (ὀπτάω), quoted as from
 Book I, 155
 ὀράνω (= οὐρανοῦ), 58, 100, ὠράνω,
gen sing, 1 l 11 ὀρρανος would
 seem to be the usual Aeolic form,
 see Hoffm, *Griech. Dial* II, 492
 ὄραι (MS or ὄραιαι) ὠραι,
 Hoffmann, *ibid*, 78
 ὄργας, *gen sing*, 65 l 1, ὄργαν
 (MS ὀργάνων), *gen plur*, but
 Edm denies the possibility of
 a *gen of respect* here and takes
 ὄργαν as *acc sing*, 44 l 2

ὄρημι or ὄρημμι (ὄράω) εἶδον, 77,
 ἴδωμεν, 142 l 12, ἴδω (or
 εἰσίδω), 4 l 7, ἴδην (= ἰδεῖν),
 8 l 18, 63 l 1, ἴδοισαν, 5 l 6
 ὄρθιον, 141 l 30
 ὄρμαται, 141 l 23
 ὄρμοισι, Ox Pap 1231, 19 l 2
 ὄρος, 47 l 2, ? ὀρέων, 170, ὄρρεσι,
 134 l 1
 ὄρπακι (ὄρπηξ), 125 l 2, ὄρπακας,
 12 l 6
 ὄρπετον (= ἔρπετον), 46 l 2
 ὄρρώδων, Berl Klass-Texte, P 9722,
 3 l 5
 [ὄς or ὄστε] ὦν or ὦν τε, Ox Pap
 1787, 44 l 2
 ὄσα, 129 l 1, ὄσσα, 7 l 12, 22 l 6,
 ὄσσον, 63 l 1, 141 l 8, ὄσαι,
 141 l 29, ? ὄσσον, 45 l 4
 ὄσσοις, *eyes*, 110 l 8, ὄσσοισ', 26 l 2
 ὄτραλέως, 141 l 11
 ὄτα (= ὄτε), 86 l 2, 87 l 2, 137,
 148 l 1
 ὄττις (= ὄστις), 4 l 2, ὄττι,
 3 l 15 *bis*, 3 l 17, 43, ὄττω
 (*gen*), 8 l 3, ὄττινας, 37 l 2,
 ὄτοισι, 9 l 11
 οὐ or οὐκ, 26 times, οὐκί, Berl
 Klass-Texte, P 9722, 3 l 8, ? οὐ
 μή, Berl Klass-Texte, P 9722,
 3 l 10 (Edm 84)
 οὐδαμα, 22 l 1
 οὐδέ, 8 l 10, οὐδ' ἴαν (Edm
 οὐδία), 23 l 1, 24 l 1, 54 l 3,
 Ox Pap 1787, 5 l 7, 10 l 2,
 18 l 1, Berl Klass-Texte,
 P 9722, 3 l 12
 οὐδεν, 9 l 15 (οὐδεν), 4 l 8, 4 l 11,
 21 l 12, Ox Pap 1787, 5 l 7,
 οὐδεν, 23 l 2, οὐδενος, 6 l 36
 οὐδέποτ', 24 l 2
 οὐκετι, 135 l 2 *bis*
 οὐτε, Ox Pap 1787, 5 l 6, Berl
 Klass-Texte, P 9722, 3 l 11, 7
 l 25
 ? οὐτι, 166

οὐτος, 53 l 2
 [οὐτος] τοῦτο 5 l 10 8 l 6 (ἴσμεν)
 21 l 17 39 l 10 (τοῦτο) Ox.
 Pap 1231 35 l 4 50 l 6 Ox.
 Pap 1787 5 l 2 ταῦτα, ? 97
 l 3 Ox. Pap 1231 52 l 5 1778
 181 l 2 ? τοῦτοις, 89b
 οὕτως, ? 64 l 1 87 l 7 ? εἶως
 Edm. in 55
 δφθάλμοις (? acc) 149 δφθάλ-
 μοισιν 154
 δχθους (acc.) 40 l 14
 δχλος 141 l 14
 ? δφειτ 81

Π

†πάγχης (MS.) 49
 πάγχυ 8 l 5
 πᾶς 18 l 3 52 (? πᾶς) 54 l 1
 123 πᾶς 3 l 7 παῖδος 8 l 10
 53 l 2 παῖδα, 13 l 2 77 103
 Ox. Pap. 1787 9 l 2 παῖδες
 41 l 10 156a, ? 163 (Edm.
 πᾶς ἐτι) παῖσι, 4 l 8
 παιδοφιλοτέρα, 157
 πᾶκτιδος (= ηἰκτιδος) a sort of
 Lydian harp (invented or intro-
 duced by Sappho) 159a, 159c
 πᾶκτιν 5 l 3 Lob
 πᾶλαι, 18 l 1 ? 49
 παλυκότων 44 l 1
 πᾶλος 88 l 2
 πᾶλην Ox. Pap. 1787 19 l 5
 πᾶμω 140b l 2, Berl. Klass.
 Texte, 5 P 5006 l 2
 παννυχίσθη (παννυχίς ἡ) 40 l 16
 παννυχίσδομεν 142 l 6
 πᾶνυχος 148 l 1
 παντοδᾶμωσι, 152 l 1
 πᾶσα οἱ πᾶσα (= παῖδα) 141
 l 31
 πᾶσιν Ox. Pap 1231 17 l 5
 παραγάγε (παράγαγε) 8 l 11
 παρὰ ἔρχεται (by times) 71 l 3
 παρθενία, 18 l 2 135 l 1 δις

παρθενίας 131 παρθενίαν, Berl.
 Klass. Texte, P 9722 3 l 4
 παρθενίαν γεν. πᾶν 141 l 15
 παρθέον 23 l 2 124 l 2, 160
 παρθέον, 141 l 25, 142 l 5, 160
 παρθέον Berl. Klass. Texte, P
 9722 3 παρθέον Ox. Pap.
 1231 30 l 7 ? παρθέον Edm.
 55 l 3, but Berlin edd. read
 πορφ
 παρεθήκαο (= παρεθήκα) 7 l 15
 παροῖς (= παροῦσι) οἱ παροῦ-
 σαι 8 l 16
 ? παρηντοῖσας, Edm. 6 l 21
 παρ (τα ἰοῦ παρτα) 6 l 10 παρὰ,
 γεν. ? 107 l 6 dat. 7 l 15,
 7 l 23 (π παρ) ? 171 Ox. Pap.
 1787 44 l 7
 παρ ἑασι (by times) 79 l 2
 παροῖς οἱ παροῖς, 9 l 11
 παροῖσιν 107 l 12
 παροῖκος 66 l 1
 [πᾶς] πᾶς (MS.) 141 l 14 πᾶν
 ? 4 l 17 πᾶν (MS.) 86 3 l
 πᾶντα (? acc. sing) 87 l 10
 πᾶσαν (= πᾶσαν) 4 l 14 40
 l 10 54 l 3 πᾶντα, 8 l 6
 ? πᾶσαι, 164 l 3 πᾶντα (n. pl.)
 61 l 10 9 l 5 (or παρ τα) Ox. Pap.
 1787 15 l 2, 41 l 12 (πᾶντα)
 πᾶντες 140 l 3, 141 l 30, 141
 l 18 (πᾶντες) πᾶντων 130 l 1
 37 l 3 (πᾶντων) πᾶσαν
 (= ? πᾶσαν) 40 l 10 (MS.)
 πᾶντες, Ox. Pap. 1787 13
 l 13 ? πᾶντα, 110 l 9 (MS.)
 141 l 30 πᾶσι Ox. Pap.
 1231 17 l 9
 [πᾶσιν] πᾶσιν (= παρ ἡ) 37 l 10;
 πᾶσιν 7 l 12 πᾶσινθα,
 3 l 15 πᾶσινθα 7 l 5
 [πᾶσιν] πᾶσινθα 86 l 1
 πᾶντα ? 165 l 1 141 l 11 (πᾶντα)
 150
 πᾶντα, 141 l 30
 πᾶντα (πᾶντα) MS. δυοπᾶντα, 58

πεδά (= μετά), *gen*, 24 l 4, *acc*,
22 l 5, 52, πεδ', *Ox Pap* 1231,
44 l 1
πεδέχην (= μετέχειν), 81 22, 24 l 2,
86 l 5
πεδήπομεν (= μεθείπομεν), 7 l 9
πείθω, 6 l 30
πέλεται, 12 l 7, 63 l 1, *ἐπλετο*,
Berl Klass-Texte, P 9722, 3
l 13
πέληος (? = πέλειος, dark so
Grenfell and Hunt, but Hesych
has πέληος γέρων), *Ox Pap* 1787,
38 l 2
*πεμπεβόηα *ογ* πεμπεβόεια, *ncut*
pl, 138 l 2
[πέμπω] *ἐπεμψε*, 97 l 4, *πέμπε*
(*ογ* ἀπέπεμπε), *Ox Pap* 1231,
51 l 4
? πένητα, 4 l 17
πεπαμέναι (πάομαι), *Ox Pap* 1787,
38 l 1
πέπλον, 55 l 5, *πέπλου*, 55 l 8,
πέπλ. *Ox Pap* 1231, 19 l 1
πεπτερύγωμαι, 52
? περ with αἰ (which see), 64
πέρθεσθ' (= περίθεσθαι *MS*
πάρθεσθ'), 12 l 1, *περθέμενον*,
emend for *MS* προιέμενον
περί, *acc*, 76 l 2, *gen* (= *over*),
3 l 10, 27 l 4, following its
case, 29, *πέρι*, 41 l 2
? περιπτύξωμαι, 48
περρέχοισα (= περιέχουσα), *intrans*,
6 l 10
πέρροχος (= περίροχος), 137
περσκοπείσα (= περισκοπούσα), 8
l 6, *περσκέθοισα* *Powell*
πέσσαυγοι *ογ* *πίσσαυγοι*, 138 l 3
πέσδων (= *πεζῶν*), 8 l 1, *πεσδομά-*
χεντας, 8 l 20
πέταται (*πέτομαι*), 31 l 6
? *πεφνε*, *Ox Pap* 1231, 24 l 2
? *πέφοισθα*, *MS Vitelli*, 28b l 9
πήλυι (= *τήλοσε* *MS πολυ*, etc.),
3 l 6

πίθεισα *ογ* *πίθεισα*, 22b l 8
πικροτέραν, 10 l 9
πλάναται, 31 l 12
πλάσιον (= *πλήσιον*), 4 l 3, 107
l 1
πλέκταις, *acc*, 7 l 17
τλέοιμι, 85 l 11
πλήθοισα (= *πλήθουσα*), 75 l 3
πλήονι (*πλείονι*), *Ox Pap* 1787, 18
l 4
πλήρης, 76 l 1
πλοαμ *Ox Pap* 1787, 14 l 5,
15 l 4
? *τλοκίωι*, 7 l 14
τλουτος, 66 l 1
πόθεινον *ογ* *πόθεινον*, 10 l 3
? *πόθεν*, 172
πόθος, 7 l 24, *πόθω*, 45 l 2, 53
l 2
ποί (*ογ* *πού*), 6 l 18, *τοι*, 135 l 1
τοίας (= *πόης*), 4 l 14, 82 l 3
(*MS* *τόης*)
[*ποιέω*] *πόησαι*, 8 l 5, ? *επόησας*,
45 l 1, *επόησαι*, 56 l 1,
πόησθαι, 9 l 9, *ποιέην*, 41 l 16,
ετόημμεν, 32 l 4, *ποημμέναις*,
acc, 7 l 18
ποικίλλεται, *73
**ποικιλόθρονε* (*υ* l *τοιικιλόθρονε*)
only here It appears to refer
to the richly veined marble,
but see Wilam (*Sappho und*
Symonides, p 44), 3 l 1
ποίκιλος, 147 l 2, *ποίκιλ*, 141
l 9
ποίμενες, 134 l 1
πόλλακι, 6 l 3
πολίταν, *gen pl*, 9 l 14, *πολι*
Ox Pap 1231, 13 l 6
πόλυ, 8 l 6 (*adv*), 112 l 3, 136 l 4,
159a, *Ox Pap* 1787, 5 l 7,
πόλλω, 7 l 19, *πόλλα*, 6 l 16,
7 l 4, 13 l 1, 45 l 3, 141 l 8;
πολλ (*ογ* *πομπ*), 85 l 16,
πόλλοις, 7 l 13, *πόλλαις*, *acc*,
7 l 16

πολυανθέμοιο (or πολυανθέμοιο) 61 l 2
 πολυῖδριδι (= πολ ἰδρε), Schol
 Hom II 3, 219 (Bergk, 166)
 πολυόλβον 98
 ? πολυρέμβαστος 70
 ? πολυστέφανος 73
 πολύως (= πολυστός) 61 l 20
 πομπη (or πολλ) 84 l 16
 πόνητον 141 l 8
 πορφύρο 134 l 2 πορφυρ
 55 l 8 πορφύρα, 97 l 2 141
 1.9 πορφύραν 100; πορφύρα, 97
 l 2
 π ρά (= πορά) 31 5 51 7 61. 4
 61 8 18 l. 1 82 l. 1 86 l 7
 112 l 1 Ox. Pap 1231 52 l 4
 πότη (= πότης, 2nd sing
 ποτῶμαι) 19 l 2
 ποτήρια, 141 l 10
 πότνια, 3 l 4 Etym. M 174, 12
 (Bergk, 153) Ox. Pap 1231
 111 l 2 πότνη 107 l 2 ? πόνται,
 9 l 1
 [ποῖς] πόδες 138 l 1 ? πόδων
 163 l 2 πόδες 147 l 1 πόσαι,
 134 l 2 πόδεσαι, 82 l 1
 πρίναι, 61 l 2
 πρίν 107 l 9
 ? πρό 163 l 2 164
 προγενέστεραι, 141 l 29
 προέμενον (MS. emended to
 περιέμενον) 100
 πρόκοψεν (= προκοπήν) only here
 41 l 9
 πρόπολον 104 πρόπολος ? 163 l 5
 πρόσ acc. 135 l 2 bis ? Ox. Pap.
 1231 28 l 1
 πρόσθε (or πρόσθα, see Hoff
 Griech. Dial II, 274) 9 l 5 Ox.
 Pap. 1231 3 l 1
 προσίδουσιν 23 l 1
 προσώπων (προσωπον) 8 l 18
 προσωπφ 3 l 14 126 l 2
 προσωπον Berl. Klass. Texte, 3,
 P 5006 l 6

πρότερην (= προτείρειν) or προτόρην
 (for προσορῶν) 12 l 4
 ? πρόσφρων 163 l 6
 πρυτα ήτο (or προτανήιον) see
 Athenaeus, x, 424 F
 πρώτα, 107 l 6 πρώτοι (Edm.
 κλήτο) 107 l 3
 ? πτέρα έχει (or πτερόεντα) 1
 πτέρα, 3 l 11 79 l 2
 πτερόων 80 l 1
 [πτοῶ or πτοῶν] ἐπτόασεν (one
 MS. has ἐπωπτόασεν Edm. reads
 ἐπεπτόασεν = ἐπεπτόησεν) 4 l 6
 ἐπτόαισε (= ἐπιπτοει, Edm.) 51 l 6
 πτόλιν 141 l 12
 [πυκάζω] πυκασσε 144 πυκνάζω-
 μενον 112 l 2
 πύκνα, 3 l 11
 πυρ, 4 l 10 ? πυρ, Ox. Pap. 1231
 30 l 2
 ? πύρετος 113
 πω, 22 (a) πω 23 l 2
 πωλουσάκιδα (or πωλω) 13 l 2

P

πίθ ε Ox. Pap 1231 12 l 3
 Etym. M. 701 34 Αλολικῶς
 βάθος ἢ βάθος λέγεται τὸ πρὸς ὧπον
 ἢ προσώπων ἐρύθημα
 ? πίοντα, 85 l 16

Σ

? σμα 55 l 11
 σμα (= σμα) but MS. may be
 read τις δμ 21 l 7
 σάμβαλα, sandals, 138 l 2
 σάτλαις 141 l 13
 σάρβιτος (also βάρβιτος) a musical
 instrument of many strings
 Athen. iv 182 F (Bergk, 154)
 σέβ ε 81 l 9
 σελάνα (= σελήνη) 66 l 9 (MS.
 μένα) 71 l 1 76 l 1 σελάνας,
 75 l 1
 ? σιδέρφ (= σιδήρφ) 164 l 3
 σίρονται, 37 l 4

[σκεδάννυμι] ἐσκέδασε, 129 l 1
 σκιδναμένας (σκίδναμαι), *gen sing*,
 65 l 1
 σκυθάριον (or σκυθάρρον, Edm see
 also Σκύθικον), a wood which
 gives a yellow dye Photius,
 81 l 12, calls it θάψος, cf
 Theocr 11, 88 (Scholiast), θάψος
 ἐστι ξύλον τι δ' καλεῖται καὶ σκυ-
 θάριον ἢ Σκυθικὸν ξύλον, ὡς φησι
 καὶ Σαπφώ Bergk, 167
 σμίκρα, *fem sing*, 18 l 3
 [σός] σῶ, 61 6, 401 9, σά, ? 163 l 5,
 107 l 2 (σᾶ), σάν, 3 l 19, 142
 l 6, σαῖς (MS σοῖς), 89b l 5,
 σοῖς, 142 l 10
 σοφίαν, 23 l 2
 σπόλαν (= στολήν), 15 l 1
 σπολέω (MS = στέλλω, Edd
 κασπολέω), 145 l 2, cf 146
 στάλασσον or στέλασσον (σταλάσσω),
 158
 στέλαγμον (MS στέλεγμα), 42 l 1,
 see Hoffm, *Griech Dial* 11, 311
 στεῖχε, 142 l 10
 στείχομεν, OX Pap 1231, 50 l 5
 στερέαν (MS στέραν), 30
 στεφάνοις, 12 l 1, στεφάνοις, 7
 l 13
 στεφανηπλόκην (ἐστεφανηπλόκεον),
 78
 στήθεσι, 4 l 6, 65, 128
 στρότον (= στρατόν), 7 l 1
 στρουθοί, 3 l 10
 στρώμναν 7 l 22
 στυγάρα, 60
 στύμασι (= στόμασι), 41 l 9
 σύ, 3 l 13 (Hoffm τυ), 3 l 27,
 7 l 11, 12 l 1, 22 l 9, 99, 109,
 ? 163 l 5, OX Pap 1231, 50 l 6,
 1787, 26 l 7, σέ occurs 26
 times, σοί, 19, 95, 126, τοί,
 4 l 2, 27 l 2, 96 l 2 τύ (for σύ),
 81 l 15
 σύμμαχος, 3 l 18
 συμμεμειγμενον, 89b l 3

? συμπαίζειν, 127
 σύν, 85 l 4
 συναέρραισα (= συναείρασα) Neue
 συνέρραισα Edd usually
 συνέρραισ' with ἀνήτοιο (for MS.
 ἀνήτω), before it
 συνέταιροι, 141 l 5
 σύνετον, 8 l 5
 συνφοῖκην (= συιοικεῖν), 28 l 2
 συνήμι, 11 l 14, ? ἐσύνηκε, Lobel,
 9 l 15
 σύιοιδα, 37 l 12
 σφά, 56 l 2
 σφι (? ἄσφι), ? 171, OX Pap 1787,
 13 l 12
 σφύρων, 15 l 3

T

τάχως, 3 l 21, 3 l 23, 141 l 3,
 τάχιστα, OX Pap 1231, 51 l 3
τανυσφύρων, 141 l 15, 141 l 31
 τε, 20 times, after μέν, 11 l 5, 146,
 after δέ, 120
 τέαυτα (MS τέαυταν = τοιαῦτα), 86
 l 9, τεαύταν or τοαύται, 40 l 6,
 τοαύτα, 123, τοιαύταν, where the
 οι is shortened), 23 l 2
 τέκτονες, 136 l 2
 [τελέω] τέλεσον, 3 l 27, τέλεσοι,
 OX Pap 1787, 44 l 3, τέλεσαι,
 3 l 26, τελέσθην (= τελεσθῆναι),
 19 l 4
 τέρεν, 82 l 3, ? τερενώτεροι, 1591
 τέρπνα, (Hoffm τέρποντα), 34 l 2
 [τέρπω] ἔτερπ', OX Pap 1787, 10
 l 7 and see under τέρπνα
 τετίμακε, 126 l 3
 ? τετοκω, OX Pap 1787, 39 l 2
 ? τέττιξ, 80 l 1
 τλάσσομαι, 28 l 2
 [τίθημι] ? ἔθεντο, 164 l 4, θεῖμεν,
 90 l 1
 τίην (= τίειν), 40 l 12
 τίμας, *gen sing*, 9 l 10
 τίμιε, 122 l 2, τιμίαν, 56 l 1,
 τίμια, 97 l 5, ? τιμιωτέρα, 159h

[τινάσσω] τίναξεν 47 L 1
 τίς 8 L 4 8 L 14 21 L 13 24 L 1
 44 L 1 ? 163 L 1 ? 168 τί
 21 L 7 27 L 2 30 38 L 5 7 L 25
 τινά, 59 τινές Berl. Klass. Texte
 P 9722 3 L 11
 τίς 3 L 19 5 L 3 (τίς) 15 L 1
 τίνα, acc τινος 3 L 18 36 L 1
 τί (= why?) 41 L 7 41 L 16
 90 L 1 98 τίς (= τίς) 125
 L 1 τίοις (= τίς) 154
 τοκήων (τοκέας) 8 L 10
 τόλμαν Ox. Pap. 1231 17 L 6
 τόλμ Ox. Pap. 1787 43
 L 2
 ? τόλματον 4 L 17
 τοί (for ποί) 6 L 18 τοί, 15 L 2
 τότε, 5 L 7
 τρέχεις 41 L 13
 τρομέοις 31 L 3
 τρόμος 4 L 13
 τρόπα Hesych. ἀγέλαματ' ὃ
 βόμματα δένδρα, 141 L 9
 τρώπο 39 L 7
 τρώχισμα not ἐπιτρώχισμα, 22a
 τώδε (= τῆδε) 3 L 5 6 L 3 9 L 2
 ? 173
 τύλαν 145 L 2 146
 τόχρ, 85 L 4, Ox. Pap. 1231 3 L 3

Y

ὕακινθινος, ? 81 ὑακινθίνος (MS.
 ὑακίνθινος) 112 L 1
 ὑάκινθον 134 L 1
 ὕγλειαν 156
 ὕδαρ, 72 L 1 ὕδατος ? 159d
 ὕμεις (= ὁμοίς) 153 ? 166
 ὕμνιν 33 L 1
 ὕμοι (= ὁμοί) 7 L 14
 ὕμνος (= ὁμοίς) 39 L 2 41 L 0
 ὕμνην for ὕμνησαν (ὕμνημι) 141 L 32
 ὕπν (= πόν) δαί 141 L 13
 ? acc. 141 L 17 ὕπ Ox. Pap.
 1787 39 L 3

ὕπνο (= ἡπνο) 141 L 17
 ὕπαδ δρομέων (ὕποτρέχω) 4 L 10
 ὕπασθενύσσια (= ὑποτέξασσα) 3 L 9
 ὕπαθ' ὅς Athen. (xv 675) says
 used by the Lesbians for a myrtle
 branch bound with violets and
 other flowers 7 L 16
 ? ὕπα ακχέ 4, 80 L 1
 ὕπακοίς, 4 L 4
 ? ὕπερ, Berl. Klass. Texte, P 9722
 3 L 5
 ὕπισσω (= ὀπισσω) Ox. Pap. 1231
 2 L 7
 ὕπνος or ὕπνος 87 L 3 ὕπνον
 142 L 12
 ? ὕσσεως (γεν. = πασούλου) a psg
 167
 ὕσθρ (= ὀψρ) 133 L 1 ὕσθρ
 72 L 2
 ὕστερο (edd. for MS. ὕστερον) 24 L 2

Φ

φάννον (= φανός) 75 L 2
 φαίμι (= φημι) 57 L 1 59 φαίσι
 (= φησι) 149a (= φασί) 8 L 2
 112 L 1 see also εἶπον
 [φαίτω] φαίτε (read in MS. by
 Edm.) 55 L 2 φαίτομαι, 4 L 16
 φαίνται, 4 L 1 (see also note to
 Fragm. 4 and Bergk 111)
 ἐφαίνο, 18 L 3 ἐφαίντο 76 L 1
 φαίνουσι 129 L 1 of Dawn, cf.
 Hymn to Demeter 51 (Ruhnken)
 φάμα, 141 L 12
 φάος 6 L 10 23 L 1
 [φάρι] φάρις 129 L 1 bis φάριον
 129 L 1 φάρισα (= φέροσα)
 41 L 19 φάρισι (= φέρουσι) 41
 L 14 φάριον 42 L 2
 φάγγει, 3 L 21
 [φθάτω] φθάτε (= ἐφθῆτε) 86 L 11
 φθάναν 41 L 22
 φάλαι, 141 L 31
 φάλα, 6 L 35 [φί]λοις 13 L 7

φίλημι or φίλημι, 41 l 24,
 φίλησθα, 36 l 2, φίλει, 3 l 23,
 φιλει 41 l 27, φιλήσει,
 3 l 23, φίλεισαν (or ἐραισαν),
 8 l 12, ἐφίλησ', O^x Pap 1787,
 5 l 4

φίλος, 26 l 1, 28 l 1, 141 l 11, φίλε,
 41 l 11, 125 l 1, φίλαι, 6 l 35,
 111, 143 l 8, φίλων, 8 l 10,
φίλοις, 11 l 7, φίλοισι, 96,
φίλοις, possibly *acc*, 141 l 12

φιλότατα (= φιλότητα), 3 l 17,
φιλότατ', 38 l 3

? φλόγιον (*dimin* of φλόξ?), 80 l 2
 φόβαισιν, 12 l 1

φοίταις, 87 l 2, φοιτάσεις, 24 l 4

φόρτις, 85 l 14

φρένα, 6 l 18, 30 l 1, 44 l 2, 45 l 2,
 φρένας, 11 l 18, 47 l 1, 143 l 6
 (or φρένα)

φροντίσθην (= φροντίζειν), 19 l 2
 [φυλάσσω] πεφύλαχθαι (MS) or
 πεφύλαξο, 65 l 2

φύλλων, 72 l 3

[φύω] ἐφύοντο, 74

φωνάεσσα (φωνήεις), 2 l 2

φωνείσας (φωνεῖν or φώνημι), *gen*
sing, 4 l 3

φώναν, ? 163 l 2, φώνας, *gen sing*,
 4 l 7

X

χαίρω, 5 l 6, χαῖρε, 45 l 3,
 122 l 1, 122 l 2, χαιρέτω, 121,
 ἔχαιρε, 6 l 6, χαίρην (= χαίρειν),
 13 l 2, χαίροισα (= χαίρουσα),
 7 l 8, χαίροις (Neue χαίροισθα
 for MS χαίροισα), 121, ? χάρεισα,
 165 l 3, χαιρο O^x Pap
 1787, 26 l 4

χαλέπαν, *gen plur*, 3 l 25

χάμαι, 134 l 2

χάραν, 96

χαρίεντα, 39 l 10, ^ε χαρίεσσα, 127,
 χαριεν, 126 l 1

χάριν, 26 l 2, χάριτος, 12 l 7

χαρισσαμεν O^x Pap 1231, 50
 l 2

χειμων O^x Pap 1231, 12 l 6
 [χείρ] ? χέρι (or χεριθ), O^x Pap
 1787, 9 l 3, χέρσιν, 12 l 2

χελίδων or χέλιδον, 83

χέλν, 2 l 1

χελύτιαν, *gen plur*, 41 l 11
 Probably from χέλυς but Orion
 28, 18, says from χελώνη
 Bergh, 169

χέραδας, as if *acc plur* from
 χέρας, but *nom:in* seems to be
 τὸ χεραδος, a dialectical form
 from Pontus The Scholiast
 Apoll Rhod 1123 says χεραδος
 ἢ τῶν βραχέων λίθων συλλογή·
 ἢ χεράδες (γέραδες) λέγονται οἱ
 μικροὶ σωροὶ -ῶν λίθων In
 Etym M So8, 37, the word is
 glossed as τὰ παραθαλασσια
 σκύβαλα, i.e. refuse thrown up
 by the sea, or flotsam and
 jetsam 68

χερρόμακτρα (= χειρόμακτρα) lit
 napkins, but used for head
 cloths, 97 l 1

χέρσω (= χέρσου), 85 l 10, 85 l 21
 [χέω] λέχεται, 6 l 13, 126 l 2,
 ? χύτο, 149, ἔχενε, 6 l 28

χθόν', O^x Pap 1231, 26 l 2

χίτωνας, 90 l 2

χλαῖνα, 55 l 9

χλάμυν (for λαλμύδα), 100

χλιδάνα, 22b l 8

χλωροτερα, 4 l 14

? χορείαις, 32 l 7

χορον, O^x Pap 1787, 13 l 10

χροῖταισιν, 152 l 2 see also χρώς
 χρόνω, ? 35 l 3, χρόνον, 23 l 2

[χρώς] χρώ (= χροῖ), 9 l 13,
 χρώα, 31 l 4, 41 l 12

*χρυσαστράγαλοι, with golden
 ankles, an epithet of φάλαι
 i.e. cups with golden feet instead
 of hollow bottoms Pollux, vi,

99, δ ψάκτηρ οὐκ ἔχει πνεύματα
 ἀλλ' ἀσπράλλσκειν Bergk, 170
 χρύσειοι, 74
 χρύσεια (χρύσεια) 141 L 8 χρύσειοι
 οὖν 54 L 1 χρύσειοισιν 89b L 2
 χρύσεη ? 108 L 1 ? 127
 χρυσούρα, 159b χρύσεον 3 L 8
 118; χρύσεας 6 L 29
 χρυσοπέδιλλος 51 L 2
 χρύσεος 67 χρύσεα (= χρύσεου)
 159b, 159h
 χρυσοστέφανος 88
 χρυσοφάη 106
 χυαίς so accented in MS. 87 L 4
 141 L 16

Ψ

ψαύη (= ψαίνω) 58
 ψοδομία (= ψιζομένη Hesych
 glosses κλαίονσα) 7 L 3
 ψόφος, 7 L 29, 141 L 27
 ψόχα, 86 L 8
 ψυχρον adj to ψῶρ, but the latter
 omitted by some edd. when
 ψυχρον must mean "coolness"
 72 L 2 ψόχρος (but Pick reads
 ψαίχρος = swift) 79 L 1

Ω

ω, 3 L 13 3 L 19, 12 L 1 21 L 10,
 22 L 1 83 (if ω βάννα be read acc
 under ωρανα) 91 92 L 1 123,
 125 L 1 127 bis, 143 L 8
 ωδε, 82 L 1
 ωλον 112 L 2 ωίφ (= ωλου) 112
 1 3
 ωκεες 3 L 9
 ωρα, 71 L 3
 ωραι, see δραι, 78
 [ωρατος (or δρατος = δραρατος)]
 ωράτω (= ωράων) 3 L 11
 ωρανα (MS. ωράνα or ωραίνα =
 ὕρανα) or ω βάννα, 83
 ωμοι (= ω οίμοι) 7 L 5
 ωρχηγτο (δρχέομαι) 82 L 2
 ως "how" 6 L 4, 7 L 5 7 L 9,
 10 L 3
 ως thus 141 L 11 141 L 25 (or =
 when")
 ως "when" 4 L 7 76 L 2 ? 141 L 25
 ως as ? 167
 ως Ox. Pap. 1231 36 L 2
 ωστε, Ox. Pap. 1787 38 L 2, ? Berl.
 Klamm. Texte, P 9722, 3 L 10
 (see Edm. 84)

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Αγαλλί, voc. of Agallia, a name
 introduced by Paton and ac
 cepted by Wilamowitz, 4 L 15.
 Paton says this was in later
 times the name of a courtesan
 (see Athen. xiii, 583) and that
 the names of Sappho's friends
 were favourite nouns *de guerre*
 with the Hetairai cf. Anth.
 Pal. vi, 17
 Αἶδα, 24 L 3. For the "halls of
 Hades" see Hom. *Od.* xxiv 104
 Αἰωνίς 90; Αἰωνίον 91
 Αἰωνίο 92

? Αἰθωνίη, a Lesbian title of
 Artemis, 163 L 3
 Αἰγᾶ (MS. Αἰγᾶ) Strabo, xiii, 16
 (Bergk, 131)
 Αλκαίος, 27
 Αλακτομας 8 L 15
 Ανδρομάχην 141 L 7 141 L 32
 Ανδρομάδα, Sappho's rival, 14
 Ανδρομάδην 19 Ανδρομάδην
 (probably the heroine cf. Ovid,
Heroid. xv 36) 39 L 5
 Ανδρομ δε, 110 L 3
 Αργινάτα, Wilam. for δριγνῶν 6
 L 5

- Ἄρεϋς, 149a, Ἄρεϋ, 136 l 3
 ? Ἀρίστω (MS Ἀρίστα), 163 l 3,
 cf also Pausanias, 1, 29, 2
 (Bergk, 170, App)
 Ἀρτεμῖς, 117, ? 163 l 3, Ἀρτεμι
 Ox Pap 1787, 37 l 4 See
 under Ἀρίστω
 Ἀσίας, 141 l 4
 Ἀθῆ (Bentley for MS ἄτε), 18 l 1,
 19, Ἀθιδος, 6 l 17
 Ἀτρέϊδαι, 107 l 3
 Αὔως, 41 l 18
 Ἀφαισῶν, 149a
 Ἀφρόδιτα, 3 l 1, 88 l 1, Ἀφρο-
 διτα, 6 l 27, Ἀφρόδιτα, Ox Pap
 1787, 11 l 3, Ἀφροδίτας, 105,
 106, 126 l 3, Ἀφροδίταν, 53 l 2,
 98 see also 97, 99, 101
 Ἀχέροντος, 110 l 10
 Ἀχιλλεύς, see Himer, *Orat* 1, § 6
 (Bergk, 93n)
 Ἀφροδίτα, 6 l 27
 Βρόχοι (voc), a name introduced
 by Edmonds, 4 l 8
 Γᾶς, 101
 Γέλλως (gen), 137
 Γεραίστιον, 6 l 34
 Γογγύλα, 5 l 2, 21 l 6
 Γόργως (gen), 17 l 2, possibly
 also 13
 ? Γυάρων (MS γυάλων), Gyara or
 Gyarus, an island of the Cyclades
 near Andros, 20, Perh Gyra Lob
 Γυρίνως (gen) Gyrinno, 16 l 5,
 or Gyrinna, as Max Tyr 24,
 18, was one of Sappho's chief
 friends The name is introduced
 by Wilamowitz in 45 l 3
 [Δαμοφύλη, 117]
 ? Δάφνας or δάφνας, 86 l 2
 Δίκα (? = Μνασιδίκαι), 12 l 1
 Δίος, 3 l 2, 119, Δία, 107 l 9
 see under ἔκτωρ
 Διόνυσος (Thyone's child), 107 l. 10
 Διόσκουροι See note on Fragn
 112
 Δωρίχα, 10 l 3, see Athen xii,
 596 B (Bergk, 138)
 Ἐκάβολος, 141 l 31
 Ἐκτωρ, 141 l 5, 141 l 32 see
 ἔκτωρ
 Ἑλένα, 8 l 7, Ἑλένα, 40 l 7
 Ἑλίκων, 108
 Ἐνδυμίων, 114
 Ἐραννα or Εἵραννα or Εἵρανα
 (Εἵρήνη), 22 l 1
 Ἐρμας, 21 l 9, 140a l 2
 Ἑρμιόνα, daughter of Helen, 40 l 6
 ? Ἑρμοκλειδαία, daughter of
 Hermocleides, 163 l 4
 Ἔρος, 99, 100, 101, 102
 Ἐσπερε or Φέσπερε, 129, 130
 Ἥρα, 107 l 2, ? 107 l 20
 Ἥρων, acc Hero, a pupil of
 Sappho's, 20
 Θήβας, Thebe in Mysia
 Θήσευς, 115
 Θυνάνας, the mother of Bacchus,
 107 l 10
 Ἰάσων, 152
 Ἰδαος (= Ἰδαίος), 141 l 3
 Ἰλιάδας, women of Ilium, 141 l 13
 Ἰλιον, 141 l 23
 Καλλιόπα, 109
 ? Κέκροψ, 139
 Κληῖς (or Κλεῦς = Κλέφης) Wilam,
 Sappho u Simonides prefers
 Κλεῦς She was Sappho's
 daughter, 54 l 2, cf 61
 Κνίδος, see 89 (Menander)
 Κρήσσαι, Cretan girls, 82
 Κυθήρη, 90
 Κύπρι, 10, 89b l 1, Κυπρ', 9 l 18,
 Κυπρ Ox Pap 1231, 35 l 3
 Κυπρο, 141 l 1
 Κυπροογένεος, 104 (see Hesych
 sub voce), Κυπρογένηαν, 5 l 8,
 Κυπρογένη, 94
 Κύπρος, 89, Κύπρω, 110 l 6
 Λάριχος, Sappho's younger and
 favourite brother, Athen x, 424 F
 (Bergk, 139)

- ? *Ἀδρυμιον* (*δρυμων*) 114
Ἀδρα, 111
Ἀδοβιος 137
[Ἀδοβου], 54 l. 2
Ἀψιδαν 112
? *Ἀλκος*, 116
Ἀδδαν 8 l. 19 *Ἀδδαιων*, 6 l. 7
Ἀυδίας 54 l. 3 *Ἀδδισ* 147 l. 2
? *Μεγάρα*, 39 l. 12
? *Μέσσηκος* 165 l. 1
Μήδεα, Bergk 162
Μήκα, 38 l. 1
Μωδῆς, see 16 l. 5 note
Μισσιδικα (see also *Δίκα*) a friend of Sappho a, 16 l. 5
Μωδοί, 97 l. 2 (*Wlamowitz*)
Μοισαί, ? 25 (56) ? 108 118, 120
Μοισαν γεν. plur 57 l. 2
Μοισάων Bergk 164
Μοιοδγντα, 108
Μυτιληναῖοι see *Athen.* x, 424 F
Νόβα, 111
Νηρηίδες especially honoured in Lesbos, 9
Νέμφαιοι (*κάτω*) gardens of the Nymphs, 161 cf. 74
Οἱ ἔλιος (= "Dead Linus") 116
Ονορε, 87 l. 1
Πάνορμος possibly but not certainly the Panormus in Sicily 89a
Πανδίων, daughter of Pandion, i.e. the swallow 83
? *Πάντωρα*, 113
[Πάρις] 8 l. 8
Πφορ 89a
Πθεα, 3 l. 18, 105 ? 106
? *Πλάγων*, 163 l. 1
Πενθιλλίδες (*γεν. plur*) 38 l. 3.
The daughters of Penthillus were members of a Lesbian clan, who claimed descent from Penthillus son of Orestes, leader of a colony to Lesbos. To this clan belonged Dracon, whose sister married the dictator Pittacus. This is the only allusion to political affairs in our extant remains of Sappho
Περράμοιο (= *Περράμον* for *Πριάμον*) 141 l. 16 Hesych
πέρραμον βασιλεὺς
Πέρριον (*MS. Περιδων*) 60
Πιρίας 24 l. 3
Πόθος 5 l. 3
Προμήθευς, 113
Πλακίς (*γεν.*) a town in Mysia at the foot of Olympus, 141 l. 3
Πληγάδες = flock of doves, a beautiful name for the Pteleads 71 l. 2
Πωλυανέκτιδα. This is probably an adjective and not a proper name see vocabulary 13 l. 2
Σάδρυον, 6 l. 2
? *Σανναΐδα* (*γεν. sing*) son of Sannakias, 163 l. 4
Σελάννα, 114
Σκύβικον see *ξύλον* Bergk, 167
? *Συρία*, 89
? *Τμαδος* (*γεν.*) 164. Timas is supposed to have been a friend of Sappho a. Edmonds introduces her name into 97 l. 2 and changes it in 164 to the diminutive Timadia (*Hesychius*)
Τροίης, 8 l. 9
Τυνδαρίδαις 39 l. 9
Χάραξος 9, 10, ? 11 See Ovid, *Heroid.* 62, 117 Herodotus, II, 135
Χάριτες ? 108 119, 120, ? 127
Himerius, *Or.* xiii, 7 (Bergk, 147)
Υμήναον (= *Υμέναιον* from *ἕμην*) 93, 136 l. 1 136 l. 2
Υπνος, 87 l. 2
Φαίθων 110 l. 8
? *Φάων* Palaiphatus, *De Incrad.* 49 οὗτος δ' Φάων ἐστὶν ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτῆς (i.e. of Aphro-

dite) ἡ Σαπφὼ πολλάκις ἄσμα ῥ Φερσεφόνας, 164 l 2
 ἐποίησεν See Eudocia, 414, Φοῖβος, 141 l 31
 Apostolius, xx, 15, Ovid, Φωκάας (= Φωκαίας), 97 l 4
Heroid, xv, Bergk, 140, and cf Ψάφροι, 3 l. 20, 7 l 6, 98, 110
 Wilam, *Sappho und Simonides*, l 5
 p 34f Ὠράνω (= Οὐρανοῦ), 101

NOTES

An asterisk denotes that the word is not found elsewhere

(1) Gerstenhauer in his Dissertation on the Vocabulary of Sappho and Alcaeus (*Diss Philol Halenses*, vii, pt 2, 1894) has gone fully into this question His conclusion is that about two-thirds of the Vocabulary is Epic, nearly all of it aeolicized But some words still keep their Epic form, such as καταρρέω and καταστείβω (add now ἡΐθεος and perhaps ἡεριμος) Epic, however, also had some Aeolic words such as ἔρος and κταίνω In many cases the Lesbians used Epic words in new senses or in a different connexion, as ἀβακῆς, ἀέλιος, ἀμβροσία, ἄχαρις, γαμβρός, κελαδέω, λεπτός, ἀναπετάννυμι, δονέω, ἐκποτάομαι, κυκάω, ὀπτάω, ὄρπετον, ἔκτωρ, μέσαι νύκτες, ἀσινής, βασιληῖος

Of the third part of the vocabulary, which cannot be traced to the earlier Epic writers some words are Aeolic, others unassignable to any particular dialect Among these some have affinity to Epic words, others none, e g αὔδω, ἄωρος, δαύω, δοκίμωμι, ζάβατος, κίνδυν, ματεῖν, πεδέχω, περὶ = ὑπέρ, πλάζω = πλήσσω, σπολέω, στάλαγμος, unique in its sense, ὕσδος, χέλυννα

Nouns first used by Sappho are ἀμάμαξυς, ἄνητον (but also Alcaeus), μύρρα, νίτρον, ὤϊον, λάσιον, βάρωμος or βάρμος, βεῦδος, βρένθειον, γρύτη, δακτύλιος, ἡμιτύβιον, καρχήσιον, μάσλη, ὄλπις (or ἔρπις), πᾶκτις, ποτήριον, Σκύθικον ξύλον, τύλα, ὑπαθύμιδες, χερρόμακτρον, χλάμυν, ἄσα, πίσυγγοι, φόβα All the other substantives have some connexion with Epic, e g παρθενία, μέλημα, πάλος, γάνος, Πείθω (the goddess), αἰπαρθενος, γλυκύμαλον, μαλοδρόπευς, μαψυλάκας, οἰκία, χέρας or χέραδος

Adjectives first used by Sappho are ἄσαρος, and from Epic nouns μάλινος, τέρπνος, μαινόλας, φαινόλις, πλήρης, ἄκακος, ἀφάνης, and such as show Sappho's exquisite art ἀδυμέλης, ἀδύφωνος, ἐλγεσιδωρος, γλυκύπικρος, διάμειπτος, δολόπλοκος, ἐμμέλης, ἐμφέρης, ἐπτορόγυιος,* ἱμερόφωνος, ἰόκολπος (Alcaeus also), κατάρης* (also Alcaeus), μελίσφωνος or μελλιχόφωνος, μοισόπολος, μυθόπλοκος,* παιδόφιλος,* πάροικος, πεμπεβόθος,* ποικιλόθρονος,* πολύολβος, βροδόσφυρος, χρυσαστράγαλος,* χρυσοφάης Other words not found elsewhere in old writers are ἀμέργω, ἐπιρομβέω, αἰθύσσω, εἰκάζω, κρέκω, μεγαλύνω, πτερυγόομαι, σταλάσσω, φροντίζω, ἐκδιδάσκω, ἐκπονέω, εὐκλείζω, καταγρέω, κατερείκομαι, καττύπτω, στεφανηπλοκέω, συναεῖρω

(2) Dative in :

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